Shakeout at the White House *John Osborne*

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A Journal of Politics and the Arts — October 26, 1974, 50 cents

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Rating the 93rd Congress

The Editors

Noam Chomsky, Arabs & Israelis

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By Louis Kennelworth
Attorney at Law

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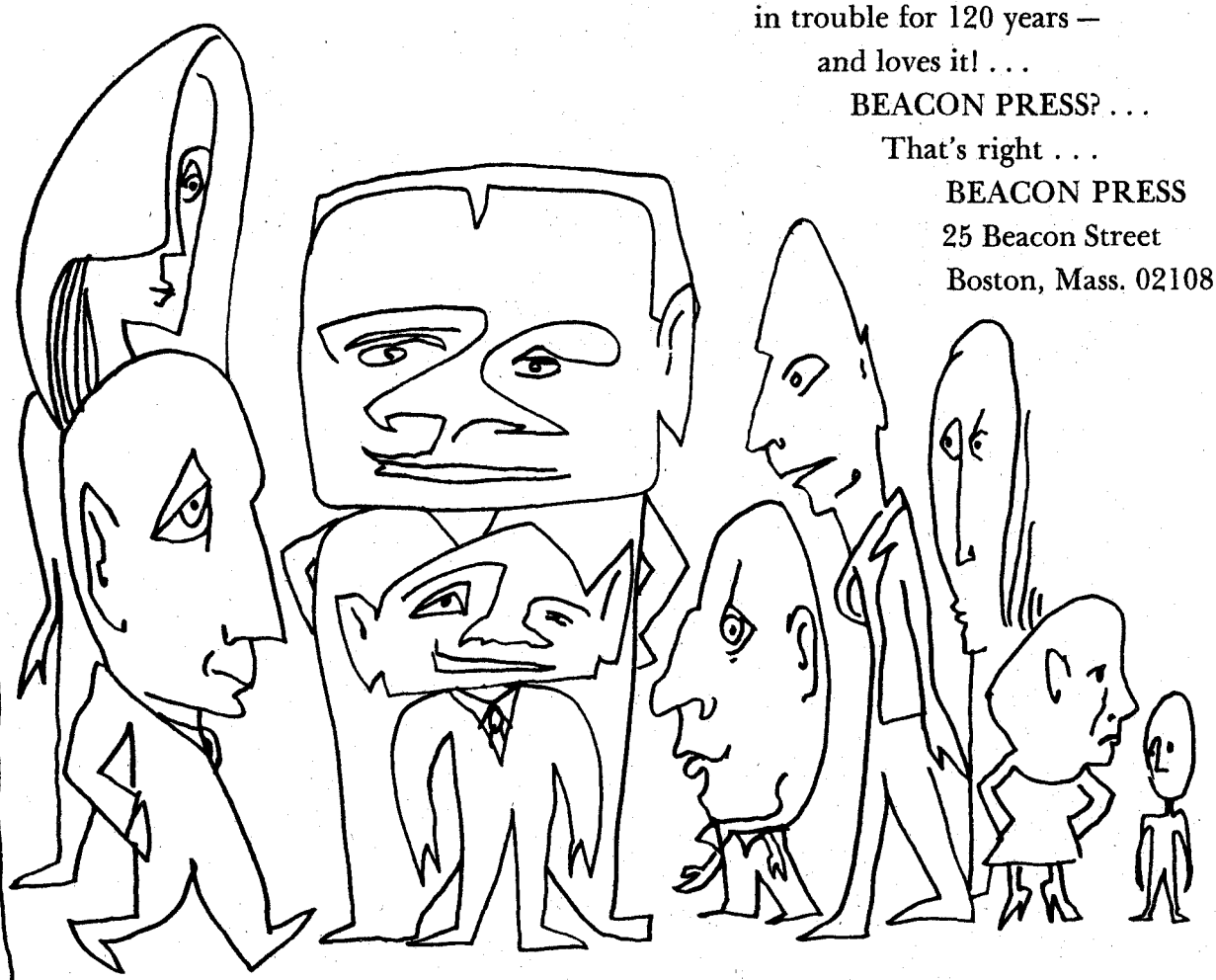

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TRB

from Washington
October 26, 1974

The Tarnished Age

Richard Nixon is pardoned, Leon Jaworski is gone. Anybody can see how Watergate is going to end. It's going to be smudged. That's the story of the era between Kennedy and Nixon. There have been good times, great times, but so many of them flawed. And then smudged. That's how we do things.

Take the war. In 1964, just 10 years ago exactly, LBJ was telling us that we couldn't trust Goldwater—he would escalate. Lyndon said the war should be fought by Asian boys, not American boys. He said it in New York, New Hampshire, Texas: "We are not going to send American boys nine or 10 thousand miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves!" So then he got a landslide and he sent American boys. That was the story of the era. Treat the people as children. Don't trust them. Johnson had been on his way to a place in history as a great President with his vision of the Great Society but he cooked up the Tonkin Gulf incident, and emergency war powers, and the vote in Congress was 504 to two. Only two men voted against him. Neither was returned to the Senate. Who will put up a plaque for Gruening and Morse in the Capitol?

We were lied into the war; we elected Nixon to lie us out of it, to get us "peace with honor." We couldn't face the fact that we had made a mistake. It was better to keep the war going that extra four years than to lose face. The 1968-72 heroes who gave their lives, 20,000 of them, didn't die to spread liberty. You couldn't do that with Thieu as dictator. They didn't die to make America stronger; the war gave us roaring inflation; they died so we wouldn't have to admit that we had made a mistake.

But it was embarrassing too. There was a draft system in which the rich boys went to college and the poor boys went to Vietnam. There were demonstrations and some people were shot, as at Kent State (embarrassing). And it was embarrassing that the most powerful nation couldn't break the will of a backward little country whose soldiers wore black pajamas. The pictures of little children running bawling with their clothes burnt off by napalm; that was embarrassing. And the Mylai massacre was embarrassing, but we smudged that. The brass was let off and we'll get Lt. Calley off too; give us time.

For a decade it was like that. Always something bitter, like aloes. And then Watergate. Your son will ask you what it was like in those days. Embarrassing, you will tell him. Voters gave Nixon the biggest majority in history. They rejected McGovern because he was too soft, and then discovered that Nixon had been lying to them all the time. The latest tape says he told Haldeman to sacrifice some subordinate: "Give the investigators an hors d'oeuvre," he chuckled, "maybe they won't come back for the main course" (meaning Nixon). He embarrassed the Republicans who voted for him, the Democrats who respected the presidency and his defenders in Congress.

All the way from Kennedy to Nixon it was the same; it was in many ways a good era; it might have been a great era, but always it was flawed. "For once there was a fleeting wisp of glory—called Camelot." That ended with a shot. There was the Great Society. That ended with a war. There was Bobby Kennedy, who grew before our eyes from a tough boy to a strong man, and that ended with another murder. And in the civil rights battle the blacks produced a great prophet-leader, Martin Luther King. He had to go too. Always there was a flaw at the center of things.

Where did it start? From many causes, of course. One was from living in an unreal world. It was there in the belief that we were always victorious and always righteous. Over generations, a belief grew that Asiatics were a special mission of the US, as historian Eric Goldman said, under the laws of history. Sen. Kenneth Wherry (R, Neb.) put it prettily when he told a wildly cheering crowd in 1940, "With God's help, we will lift Shanghai up and up, ever up, until it is just like Kansas City."

Then suddenly we had to change our patronizing vision of Asiatics as little, deferential yellow men perpetually smiling, to treacherous cruel Orientals making up part of a menacing communistic monolith. We had "lost" China; evidently we were betrayed. Joe McCarthy used that charge and Nixon too. Historian Sam Morison wrote, "McCarthy himself collapsed, but the poisonous suspicion he injected into the body politic will take many years to leach out."

Exactly; hear young congressman Nixon describing the Acheson-Hiss relationship: "Traitors in the high councils of our own government have made sure that the deck is stacked on the Soviet side of the diplomatic tables." Respectables like Bob Taft and Gen. Eisenhower encouraged the rising Nixon to denounce "Dean Acheson's College of Cowardly Communist Containment." Tell the public anything.

Mark Twain looked at the period after the Civil War, the era of wealth and expansion, the era of Jay Gould and Jim Fisk and the scandals of Grant, and he came up with a name for it: it wasn't real gold, he said; it was the Gilded Age. What are we going to call this one?

It was so good in so many ways! We saw social improvements and a lift in living standards, and an awakening of conscience about environment and our incredible waste: six percent of world population using a third of its energy. There were magnificent moments—the landing on the Moon! Yet at the same time we could not impose our will on Congress to reform the tax system. Always the surface that might have shone so brightly never seemed to.

In our embarrassment and malaise we couldn't face things squarely; we had to smudge things. There was the elaborate falsification of the bombing runs in Cambodia, we smudged that; and the CIA in Chile, we smudged that; and the lies former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst told the grand jury, we smudged that; and the knavery of the Vice President, we smudged that good. The man LBJ wanted as chief justice left under the cloud of an indiscretion; the men Nixon wanted on the high court, what's-his-name and you-know-who, they were dropped. And then Nixon quit and Jerry fixed it with the best smudge of all: the pardon smudge.

Mark Twain knew the trick: you can pillory with a name. That was so in the days of dross—the Gilded Age. This is the age that might have been sterling-bright and wasn't. The Tarnished Age.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 171, No. 17, Issue 3120, October 26, 1974. Published weekly (except the issues of January 12, July 13, July 27, August 17) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Phone 331-7494. Single copy, 50¢; Yearly subscriptions, $17; foreign, $20; armed forces personnel or students, $10. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright 1974 by The New Republic, Inc.* *Item g. Second class postage paid at Washington, DC and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide.*

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Money and Politics

Americans see nothing ignoble in riches, but we are suspicious of money used to elect or to sway politicians. This suspicion that big money taints politics slacked off somewhat with the emergence of big donors who are not beholden to big business. Rockefeller generosity to Republicans has been matched by big labor's generosity to Democrats. The liberal Committee for an Effective Congress came on the scene, followed by Common Cause. The Humphrey and McGovern lists of contributors were not lacking in millionaires. Politics today is not a game of monopoly, fixed by "special interests," which in an earlier age meant large corporate interests. New channels have opened up through which money is funneled into both parties and various candidacies, liberal and conservative, as well as into lobbying efforts for everything from environmental protection to birth control. A precise balance sheet of purchasable influence cannot be drawn up, but there *are* strong countervailing pressures in the political money market.

Yet the fear that the people's will is frustrated by the machinations of those who seek to buy power and prestige has persisted. One reason for that is the extraordinary inflation that has overtaken political spending. It is hard to believe that 50 years ago Sen. William Borah, the insurgent Republican, halted his own campaign in Idaho so that he could take the chairmanship of a special Senate committee investigating campaign expenditures. He did it because the country was shocked by the charge brought by Sen. La Follette of Wisconsin, who alleged that the Republicans in 1924 were seeking to secure a fund of four or five million dollars with which to influence the election! Ever since Congress and the executive branch have dallied with proposals to change the ways by which presidential, House and Senate elections are paid for. President Eisenhower tried a national mail campaign to drum up small donations. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson appointed special commissions to study the problem. It is only in the last five years, however, that congressional interest has gone from tepid to warm to hot. The more feverish interest arose, of course, out of Richard Nixon's first successful presidential campaign, which reported tapping hundreds of individuals for $10,000 or more. Several donors confessed to giving upward of $100,000. The Nixon organization collected over $30 million that year, more than double the amount available to Hubert Humphrey. There were three basic questions for Congress to consider:

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should the financing of political campaigns be left entirely to private benefaction; should any limits be placed on the amounts given to or received by candidates; does the public have the right to know who gave what to whom? The third question was answered first. In 1971 Congress mandated comprehensive reporting for all federal primary and general elections, and late in 1972, the public got its first real look at the realities of campaign financing. It learned that at least $55 million was raised to reelect Mr. Nixon and that some individuals gave one million dollars or more. Then through the Watergate revelations, the public was given new insight into what can be raised for a presidential campaign by refined extortion. It read of would-be ambassadors who contributed $300,000, of allegations that a large corporation promised to foot a large part of the bill for the Republican Convention in San Diego, in exchange for this or that favor.

The '72 election also revealed some flaws in the 1971 law, among them the absence of any limit on amounts contributed or spent and the lack of any effective machinery to enforce whatever rules there were. This month Congress approved and the President signed a corrective measure. It is a compromise between those who want full public financing of all federal election campaigns and those who first want to see how federal financing works in the presidential arena before applying it across the board.

If the new law works as intended, money will not be a major problem for those seeking the presidential nomination in 1976. Each would-be nominee, whatever his party, can spend only $10 million up to and through his party's convention, plus another two million dollars for fund-raising. Part of this $10 million may, probably will, come out of the federal treasury. To qualify for a federal subsidy a candidate must raise $5000 (in $250 contributions or less) in 20 different states. That $100,000 will be matched by federal dollars, as will all additional donations of $250 or less, up to five million dollars. The government's contribution will come from the one-dollar voluntary check-off on income tax returns.

Any presidential hopeful can start the ball rolling by soliciting $250 contributions in 1975, but he won't get any matching federal money until January 1, 1976. The delay should mean more careful planning for the primaries and state convention delegate caucuses, and more candidates in the race all the way to the convention, since it will be difficult to run out of funds even if a primary or two are lost.

Money will be no problem at all in the general presidential election for the two major parties. Each will receive $20 million from the US Treasury (plus any cost of living increase that is applicable). In addition each national party organization may spend up to $2.9 million in private donations to its presidential campaign. A third or fourth party's share of this federal largesse will depend on its share of the popular vote in the general election. If it wins as much as 25 percent of that vote, it is eligible for the full $20 million. If it gets less than five percent, it is entitled to nothing.

Candidates for the Senate and House in 1976 won't have it that good. They may have a harder time than in the past, for the new law limits individual contributions to $1000 a race. Donating organizations—corporation, union, trade association and public interest campaign funds, which formerly gave whatever they wanted—can contribute no more than $5000 a race. In addition there's a ceiling on what candidates may spend. House members are limited to $70,000 for a primary and a similar amount for the general election. Senate ceilings rise or fall according to the number of voters in each state, with the limit on primary expenditures set at 30 percent less than those for the general election. All congressional candidates are allowed an extra 20 percent for fund-raising, expenses, and in the general election national and state party organizations are permitted to spend an extra $10,000 for House races and more for Senate campaigns, above the amount any individual candidate may spend.

To assure that the comprehensive reporting procedures of the campaign fund law are observed, a Federal Elections Commission has been established. Its effectiveness will largely depend on who the commissioners are and the kind of regulations they write. The commission does not have the power to initiate criminal proceedings, but it has subpoena and civil action authority and can move immediately upon receiving a complaint that the law is being violated, even in the midst of a campaign.

Several reforms stimulated by Watergate are in the package. For instance the taking or spending by any political committee of cash in amounts above $100 is prohibited. Contributions by foreign nationals are outlawed. Candidates may set up only one principal campaign committee which, in turn, is responsible for turning in the reports of all other political committees organized to support a particular candidate. This is designed to prevent the dozens of so-called independent committees from thwarting a thorough review and analysis of a candidate's receipts and expenditures. The new bill also allocates up to two million dollars to the major parties for their presidential nominating conventions—thereby eliminating the previous practice of soliciting the help of corporations every four years to finance the big event.

Criticism of the new legislation is already heard. Is it constitutional to forbid someone from spending more than $1000 on a newspaper ad proclaiming that candidate X is unfit for office? Is this an infringement of free speech? Is the limit on House spending too low? In 1972, the only year for which we have statistics, in the handful of races where an incumbent was defeated, the challenger spent more than $100,000;

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Sen. Edward Kennedy tried to answer this point by noting that the limit set by Congress could be as high as $114,000, an amount he termed "entirely adequate" for a primary or general election. That claim needs to be tested, for throughout this debate it has been repeatedly alleged that the new law might favor incumbents and impose a heavier burden on challengers.

A key provision of the 1971 law that required television stations to charge candidates the lowest rates for the time periods they purchase has fortunately been retained. Why shouldn't the public pay less for its own political education over its own airwaves? In 1972 TV and radio accounted for $14.3 million of the total spent in the presidential race, and that excludes production costs, which were huge. The new bill sets no specific limit on the amount that may be spent for air time. We would change that. TV and radio station owners should have to give time to candidates in major federal elections, at no cost to the candidate.

The general impact of all these changes will not become evident until after the 1976 elections. There's no way of knowing now how the public will respond to having its tax dollars spent for controversial TV commercials, polling, poll watchers, rally entertainment, or campaign "biographies." Nor can one foretell what effect the availability of funds will have in the pre-convention period on the number of those seeking the presidential nomination. Will frivolous or "stalking horse" candidates appear in great numbers? One *can* predict that the next President—elected with public money—will have fewer financial obligations to big backers, and that each contributor to a congressional race in 1976 will be known.

Private money in political campaigns is not all bad, nor is public money all good. A mixed system is promised for 1976. The workings of that system need to be studied before Congress moves further in one direction or the other.

Furor in Japan

The Japanese have regarded atomic arms with understandable horror ever since the holocausts of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and no government can survive in Japan that does not share that aversion. But evidence now emerging suggests that an agreement between Washington and Tokyo prohibiting the entry of American nuclear weapons into Japan has been violated. The issue, which strikes at the heart of Japanese sensitivities, is currently building into a furor and could topple Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, whose popularity has dropped sharply as a result of inflation, oil shortages and other economic troubles. It may also jeopardize President Ford's planned visit to Japan next month, and could disrupt his first major venture into foreign summitry at a time when his domestic standing is less than solid.

The nuclear ruckus was triggered by a casual remark last month by retired Rear Adm. Gene R. La Rocque, an advocate of stiff arms controls, in testimony before an Atomic Energy subcommittee headed by Sen. Stuart Symington. Referring to the worldwide spread of nuclear weapons, La Rocque said that US naval vessels "do not offload them when they go into foreign ports such as Japan and other countries" [sic]. His statement went unnoticed until Japanese correspondents in Washington saw the published text of the hearing four weeks later and splashed it across the Tokyo press. Coming as it did from a former US Navy officer, La Rocque's revelation was viewed as official. But as La Rocque conceded afterward, his comment was inadvertent.

Under basic policy enunciated in December 1967, the Japanese government pledges not to manufacture or possess nuclear weapons, or permit their introduction into Japan. A codicil to the US-Japan security treaty, revised in 1960, also makes the introduction of nuclear weapons into Japan subject to Japanese government approval. But despite these safeguards, American nuclear weapons have been entering Japan, as La Rocque accidentally disclosed. Don Oberdorfer of *The Washington Post* reported the other day after interviewing crew members of the USS *Midway* that their ship, stationed at Yokosuka, carries white and silver nuclear bombs with red-painted noses, and Fox Butterfield of *The New York Times* has divulged that these weapons are in Japan under a secret "transit" accord with the US. Japanese Foreign Minister Toshio Kimura has denied both accounts, and the State Department declines to clarify the matter. Is the Japanese government lying for the sake of its survival? Or is it really unaware of the existence of American nuclear weapons in Japan? And if so, has the US been deploying these weapons without advising the Japanese, as the terms of the security treaty require?

Sooner or later the truth will emerge, and it is likely to place new strains on the already deteriorating ties between the US and Japan. These relations came under stress during the Nixon administration, when the former President betrayed his promise to consult with the Japanese before making overtures to China. The Japanese are now worried by the possibility that the US may limit exports of raw materials to them while restricting the import of their goods. These difficulties are bound to be exacerbated by the nuclear controversy, and the left-wing opposition, besides seeking to overthrow Tanaka, will probably attempt to block the Ford trip in the same way that it torpedoed President Eisenhower's visit to Tokyo in 1960. It will be hard for Tanaka to escape the storm of protest he faces in the coming weeks, and it may be hard for Ford, who inherited a mess not of his own making, to avoid another blow to his waning prestige.

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Boston, Busing and "Quality Education"

On October 9, answering a press conference question about Boston's troubles in carrying out court-ordered school desegregation, President Ford said that citizens should abhor violence and obey the law. But the force of his admonition to obey may have been dissipated when he added that he "respectfully disagreed" with the action of District Judge Garrity, because "forced busing" is not "the best solution to quality education in Boston." On October 12 Mr. Ford taped a 30-second radio message, again urging Bostonians to reject "violence" and "hatred." He neither repeated nor retracted his disagreement with the court's order; nor did he urge obedience or counsel against nonviolent disobedience.

The full consequences for Boston and the country of Mr. Ford's seemingly deliberate ambivalence are not yet clear. Mr. Ford may have thought that presidential sympathizing with their grievance would have a calming effect on those who have allowed their opposition to the court's order to take violent and riotous forms. (It can be reported, for whatever it is worth, that there were relatively few violent incidents in the two school days immediately following the President's statement.) But in a deeper and more lasting sense, the President's studied equivocation seems apt to produce more of the lawlessness he deplores. The leaders of the massive, organized resistance to the desegregation order took immediate encouragement from Mr. Ford's words, words that were welcomed as an endorsement of the notion that desegregation by busing presents a morally compelling occasion for civil disobedience. A day after the press conference remark, in a performance that may symbolize the bewilderment brought on by Mr. Ford's contribution to the dialogue, the battle-worn mayor of Boston issued a heated statement in which he sharply criticized the President for undermining the authority of Judge Garrity's court, cited the President's statement as one reason for his own refusal to give further moral support to the court's order, and ended by declaring Kevin White's own, personal disagreement with the order and with forced busing. Seven days later, in response to Governor Francis Sargent's request that federal troops be sent to Boston, the White House said the request was "in order."

The most portentous feature of the President's statement lies in its mischaracterization of the court's role in school desegregation controversies. Mr. Ford spoke as though Judge Garrity's busing order reflected a managerial choice on the judge's part in the course of a judicial search for "quality education." It is disturbing to think that the President could have failed to understand that the issue demanding a judicial response was *not* quality education but the constitutional rights of minority children not to be victimized and degraded by deliberate consignment to segregated schools. In a lengthy, meticulous and ultimately invincible opinion, Judge Garrity concluded that Boston school officials clearly had violated those rights. The judge then proceeded to the task of arranging for the actual desegregation of Boston's schools, using buses when necessary. This is typical of the relief that has become standard in desegregation cases under an uninterrupted line of court decisions (which Congress has remained unwilling to legislate against, despite repeated attempts to have it do so).

Judge Garrity was thus acting in the proper defense of established constitutional rights—rights that Mr. Ford did not (and presumably would not) deny, but that he ignored. In his insensitive and flawed portrayal of the case, the President is, unfortunately, not alone. State and local officials tend to speak as though the challenge facing Boston is simply one of satisfying a purely formal duty of obedience to duly issued court decrees no matter how unjustified one privately might think they are. That's too thin an argument to throw against the spirit of defiance now raging in Boston. What has so far been painfully missing is leadership that insists not that busing is a panacea for education, but that the constitutional rights of thousands of children have been rudely violated; that ideals of human equality, dignity and brotherhood have been dishonored; and that those rights and ideals must be restored.

If there are better ways than the courts have yet used to protect constitutional rights, let them be urged. But surely it is incumbent upon those whose utterances threaten the moral authority of the courts to propose some ways they think are better—which means they must show how their proposals respond, not only to the claims of "quality education" but also to the need to pay palpable respect to constitutional rights. Of particular significance are approaches that would attack the isolation of relatively affluent, largely white, suburban school systems from the poorer core-city systems within which minorities are concentrated. The judiciary's hesitancy to impose such metropolitan approaches does not, of course, prevent their adoption by legislation, nor does it prevent politicians concerned about quality education to make proposals.

The expression "quality education" is heard with stupefying frequency nowadays. A cynic might say that the phrase has become a code for "no desegregation." A more optimistic view would be that a lot of people are giving a lot of attention to quality education who never seemed to worry about it much before.

Frank I. Michelman

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White House Watch

Shakeout

White House happenings in the ninth and tenth weeks of Gerald Ford's presidency told something of how it was shaking out and shaping up.

When the President introduced General Alexander Haig's successor, Donald Rumsfeld, to the senior staff on September 30 and said that Rumsfeld was to be called and thought of as a coordinator rather than a chief of staff, Mr. Ford emphasized two other things. One of them was that he expected Rumsfeld to devise and administer an "orderly" decision process. The President bore down heavily on "orderly," implying a recognition that the presidential process since he took over from Richard Nixon on August 9 had been somewhat disorderly. The second thing he emphasized, with great force, was that he expected and wanted no news leaks from his White House and looked to Rumsfeld to see that they did not occur. Just what Mr. Ford meant by "leaks" was not made clear. The sensible judgment among his hearers was that he meant advance, unauthorized reports of unannounced decisions that had been recommended to him or he was about to take. A plethora of such leaks, in advance of his economic speech to Congress, occurred forthwith and were followed by a series of errors and "clarifications" that reflected a bobbly staff process. My own experience, not necessarily typical, suggested that some of the President's assistants took him to mean that he wanted contact with the allegedly "open" Ford White House to be confined to his press spokesmen. Rumsfeld himself indicated as much in a brief appearance in the White House press room after his introductory session with the senior staff. He soon was the subject of a leak to the effect that Mr. Ford expected to replace Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger with Rumsfeld in about six months. A supplementary rumor had it that Rumsfeld had told some reporters that he looked upon the White House assignment as a six-months job. Rumsfeld, who was about to leave for Brussels where he had to make his formal farewells as ambassador to the NATO Council, sent word to me that the six-months rumor was false. The extraordinarily weak denial that Press Secretary Ron Nessen accorded the Rumsfeld-for-Schlesinger story, followed by a spate of contradictory reports that the President was expecting and preparing to clean out the Nixon Cabinet after the November 5 elections, with no two accounts agreeing on whom he plans to keep and discard, reminded me of a conversation that Mr. Ford has acknowledged having with me last March 30 when he was still Vice President Ford. Then he was of a mind, among other matters, to fire Schlesinger and keep Labor Secretary Peter Brennan. The other day I read that he's firing Brennan and keeping Schlesinger. My policy is to await further word and action from Gerald Ford.

Rumsfeld moved fast to form his own temporary staff, lay the basis for a permanent central staff, and establish his primacy over the White House staff at large, including the very few chums and long-time associates whom Mr. Ford brought with him from the vice presidency into the presidency. Four lawyers and a political scientist who were associated with Rumsfeld after he quit Congress in early 1969 to become director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and to be simultaneously a White House assistant to President Nixon, comprise his temporary staff. The political scientist and, more recently, adviser to institutional investors, is Richard Cheney, Rumsfeld's executive assistant at OEO and now at the White House. Three of the lawyers—John Robson, Don Lowitz and Don Murdoch—are friends and associates who have come aboard as temporary consultants and are fighting off suggestions from Rumsfeld that they take permanent staff jobs. The fourth lawyer, William Walker, is Rumsfeld's appointee to the powerful post of White House personnel chief, meaning chief recruiter both for the White House staff and for political spots in departments and agencies. One of the first assignments given Lowitz and Murdoch was to draft a code of ethical conduct for White House assistants, with provisions for monitoring and enforcing it in such a way as to prevent any more Watergates. The draft had been on Cheney's desk less than an hour when Cheney got telephone calls from two journalists. They said a tipster outside the White House had a copy of the draft and was trying to sell it to them.

A lively question was whether and to what extent Robert Hartmann, a long-time and valued associate of the President and his principal speechwriter, would subordinate himself to Rumsfeld. Hartmann made no secret of his dislike of General Haig and of his efforts, by means of news leaks and internal prods, to get Haig out. Along with other devices, Hartmann made a point of his refusal to attend Haig's senior staff conferences and of his instant access to the President without Haig's or anybody else's permission. Hartmann turned up at a few of Rumsfeld's morning staff meetings, so that nobody could say he refused to attend, and not often enough to acknowledge that he had to be there. Hartmann's appointments with the President suddenly began to be scheduled in advance through Rumsfeld, like those of other senior assistants. Hartmann's regular appointment, other events on the schedule permitting, is at 9:15 am.

Initial organization and status apart, one of Rumsfeld's first moves was to resolve the problem posed by Nixon assistants and by Mr. Ford's overly vague and generous indication that they could stay until they had other jobs. Rumsfeld ruled that it was each division head's responsibility to indicate clearly who was to stay and who was to leave, and when. Where no division heads were available, Rumsfeld did it himself. He

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told Helen Smith and Lucy Winchester, respectively Mrs. Ford's press secretary and social secretary, that he wanted their resignations effective November 1. They had understood that they were welcome to stay until around January 1. Mrs. Winchester quit immediately. Hurt but forbearing, Mrs. Smith agreed to stay until November 1 to break in her successor, a TV newsperson named Sheila Weidenfeld. Nancy Lammerding, a capable and delightful veteran of the early Nixon press staff who lately had been in the State Department's protocol office, succeeded Mrs. Winchester. A typically injured and embittered victim of the new precision was Ken Clawson, the Nixon regime's last director of communications. He had understood from General Haig that he might be detailed to Mr. Nixon until February 9 or, failing that, retained until December 1. He was not detailed to the former President and, while trying to negotiate a new job from the strength of his White House position, was reminded by Press Secretary Nessen that General Haig had gone. Nessen told Clawson to submit his resignation effective as of November 5. David Gergen, the competent and gentle chief of the White House writing staff, and three of his writers were told by his successor, Paul Theis, to be out by and as of November 1. Raymond K. Price, Jr., Mr. Nixon's favorite writer, was luckier than most. He had his own deal for a Nixon book lined up and told the firers before they told him that he'd be out and away in early November. The Rumsfeld, media and political heat on Nixon holdovers caused Philip Buchen, the senior among President Ford's three lawyers with the title of counsel, to forgo his wish to keep former counsel J. Fred Buzhardt around awhile for his knowledge of the Nixon tapes and the Nixon time. Buzhardt left, on October 5, well before he had expected to.

Rumsfeld kept strictly out of a more important area of Buchen's business. This was the attempt to renegotiate with Mr. Nixon's chief Washington attorney, Herbert J. Miller, the agreement on custody of the Nixon tapes and documents that preceded President Ford's announcement of the Nixon pardon on September 8. The negotiation was mainly between Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, who had complained that the original agreement gave Mr. Nixon too much control and the prosecutor too little access to Watergate-related tapes and documents in the presidential files. Buchen delegated to Phillip Areeda, a distinguished newcomer to the counsel staff from Harvard law school, and William Casselman II, the third counsel, the job of following the Miller-Jaworski negotiations. Before Jaworski resigned he, Miller and the Ford lawyers were close to a mutually satisfactory revision, leaving the tapes in White House custody and permitting shipment of most of the Nixon documents to California as originally intended. Congressional opposition to any surrender to Nixon's control of either tapes or documents wrecked the prospect. Miller was said at the White House to have argued, and Buchen to have agreed, that there would be no point in a new agreement that Congress seemed certain to abrogate. It was a serious matter. Mr. Ford, already committed to defend his unpopular pardon of Richard Nixon before a House subcommittee, faced the distinct possibility of having to accept or veto a bill that would require publication of the content of all the Nixon tapes. The President is said to believe that such a bill would constitute a gross violation of many people's privacy. He knows that he will be accused of protecting Mr. Nixon if he vetoes such a bill.

John Osborne

Where TRB and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Miss the Point

Parliamentary Government and Ours

by James L. Sundquist

One hesitates to intervene in a family feud between two such worthies as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and *The New Republic*'s columnist TRB, but their debate about constitutional reform carried in the pages of this magazine needs to be brought into sharper focus.

TRB (July 20, Sept. 28) looks at the parliamentary systems of Canada and Great Britain and finds in them answers to some of the institutional problems that perplex America. Prof. Schlesinger (Aug. 31) replies with an authoritative account of the weaknesses of the parliamentary system. Both miss the point.

TRB made a tactical error in even suggesting that

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the parliamentary system in its totality should be transplanted here. No change that radical could ever happen. Moreover such a proposal gives skeptics an unnecessarily large target at which to shoot. They can pick and choose those aspects of the British and Canadian systems that can be made to compare unfavorably with ours, and have for themselves, as did Schlesinger, a rhetorical field day.

But TRB did some picking and choosing of his own among the particular features of the parliamentary system that might be transplanted to this country. Here he is both constructive and realistic. Of the three aspects of the parliamentary system that TRB commends, two are minor and can be disposed of quickly.

First is "question-hour"—a requirement that the President and other administration officials appear before the Congress at a stated time, on television perhaps, to answer whatever questions any member might wish to throw at them. I share Schlesinger's skepticism on this one. One of the first things learned by a rising politician in any democracy is how to artfully avoid giving information he does not want to give. A question period might elicit some marginal information not now obtainable through congressional hearings and official news conferences, but I doubt that it would be worth the additional demands of time and energy it would impose upon administration officials, particularly the President.

Second is the removal of residence requirements, so that a Fulbright defeated in Arkansas, for instance, could run in Tennessee or Oklahoma. It would be a gain, no doubt, if other states had laws and traditions on this matter as liberal as those of New York—where a Massachusetts Kennedy and a Texas Clark have won their party's nomination for high office—but this shortcoming in our system is hardly a crucial one.

That leaves TRB's third and truly fundamental suggestion. He would make it possible for Congress to remove a President from office through a simple vote of "no confidence." Schlesinger sets out to demolish this idea—but only by attributing to it features that it need not have. He assumes that a power in Congress to vote "no confidence" would carry with it, as in Britain, a power in the executive to dissolve the legislature, and then argues that the latter power "would play into the hands of the executive." Obviously it would. But the leading proposal currently before Congress for a "no-confidence" procedure in the United States, introduced by Rep. Henry Reuss of Wisconsin, does not include any presidential power to dissolve the Congress. It provides only that Congress may, by a "Resolution of No Confidence in the President" adopted by 60 percent of each house, call a new presidential election after not less than 90 days. Congress would be dissolved and all seats filled at the same election—so that the congressional action would be submitted, in effect, to a referendum—but the initiative would lie exclusively with Congress.

Let us begin by discarding the notion that, since a President has just been forced out of office, the question of presidential removal has become moot.

Nixon resigned only when it became unmistakably clear to him that if he did not leave office voluntarily he would do so involuntarily: impeached and found guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors." But as late as three days before the resignation speech it was not at all apparent that two-thirds of the Senate would convict a President without irrefutable evidence that he had personally committed, while in office, an indictable felony. Then the evidence was discovered.

There had never been any doubt that the impeachment clause of the Constitution covered this narrow category of offenses. The question was whether the clause was broader than that. In the end that would have been decided by a minority of one-third plus one of the Senate—the number necessary to sustain the President in office and hence that number who would have set the outer limits of the impeachment power. We will never know what those limits would have been.

In any event a no-confidence procedure would make it possible to remove a President under four kinds of circumstances, beyond the one where the President is caught in personal criminal conduct. The first two of these may or may not be included in the present impeachment power. The other two are unquestionably outside it. They are:

1) *Crimes not directly traceable to the President personally.* Before the discovery of the final tape that implicated President Nixon personally and inextricably in the crime of obstructing justice, the House Judiciary Committee had to build a circumstantial case that the President *must* have been personally involved for so clear and consistent a pattern of obstruction to have been pursued by his closest associates and subordinates. Yet the White House and a majority of the President's party on the committee did not agree that a circumstantial case could meet the constitutional test for impeachment, and the constitutional issue remains unsettled.

2) *Abuse of power.* The Judiciary Committee concluded that a President can be impeached for "abuse of power" apart from the question of indictable crime, but again

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a substantial minority did not concur and again the issue is unresolved.

3) *Mental or emotional breakdown.* The 25th Amendment allows the Vice President and the cabinet, with the assent of Congress, to declare a President incapable of fulfilling his duties. This power may be easy to exercise in a clear case of physical incapacitation—a stroke or heart attack for instance. But in case of a mental or emotional disability, short of obvious insanity, it is difficult to conceive of the Vice President and a majority of the cabinet—all the President's men, selected by him (and the cabinet members removable by him)—taking the unprecedentedly bold step of initiating a President's removal.

The presidency is the country's symbol of solidity and certitude, and so one shrinks from even admitting the possibility that a President might go gradually and quietly mad. But the contingency ought to be realistically faced. Under immeasurably less severe stress than that to which a President is daily subjected, men have "nervous breakdowns" of one type or another. A President can lose some of his grip on reality, suffer delusions of grandeur or persecution, become impulsive or obsessive and erratic in his judgments, and conduct himself in eccentric ways that are harmless enough in the ordinary citizen but unacceptably risky in his high office. It *could* happen. It has happened to the prime ministers of other countries and to governors, members of Congress and cabinet officers. The possibility has been a hazard since the founding of the Republic, but today the need for assurance that the "finger on the button" is steady becomes more compelling.

4) *Loss of public confidence.* A President who is sound in health and innocent of any crime or abuse of power may still lose the public confidence to the point where he can no longer lead and govern. He may simply lack capacity to handle a domestic or a foreign crisis. He may make policy decisions that visit disaster upon the country, and then stick with those decisions after the consequences have become clear. He may be egregiously bad in the selection of people in whom he imposes trust, and retain advisers and subordinates after their incapacity has been exposed. The list is endless. Anyone who has studied the careers of some recent Presidents who lost the public confidence—Hoover, Truman, Johnson, Nixon—can easily add to it.

The "no-confidence" proposal rests upon the premise that the United States needs at all times an effective government, that it cannot afford to wait for as long as three years or more if its President loses his ability to lead and inspire and unify the country—as he must. The people need to be safeguarded not just against the President who commits crime but against the one who tolerates and excuses crime, the one who is incompetent or negligent or rash, the one who loses his capacity to make sound judgments. For all these kinds of circumstances, short of obvious incapacitation, the Constitution provides no remedy.

Schlesinger argues that if a no-confidence procedure had been in our Constitution, Presidents might have been deposed for taking policy stands that were at the time unpopular but, in the eyes of history, proved to be right—John Adams for refusing to go to war with France, for instance, and Harry Truman for firing Gen. MacArthur. Perhaps so. But democratic systems are predicated on the proposition that decisions made in a considered fashion by popular majorities are more likely to be right than wrong, and so the gains of popular control outweigh the losses. A no-confidence procedure, let us remind ourselves, would have permitted the removal not just of Truman but of Herbert Hoover and Lyndon Johnson, both incapacitated as leaders well before their terms expired, and of Richard Nixon sooner and with far less national agony. If one had to choose between losing any two or three of those before their time, and losing none, I suggest the national interest would commend the first alternative. However right Truman was in the MacArthur matter and however much later generations may admire him, he did not possess much capacity to lead the nation in his last two years. Vice President Alben Barkley as a caretaker President for a few months pending an election, would probably have done as well. Moreover if Truman had chosen to fight the congressional decision and seek vindication in the new election, he could have done so. And it is not at all unlikely that the Congress, recalling vividly how he had campaigned successfully against that body in 1948, would itself have backed away from a showdown and let the President finish out his term.

The mere existence of a no-confidence procedure would have a continuous—and, on the whole, beneficial—restraining influence on what Schlesinger himself has called "the imperial presidency." The effect would be to bring the President into closer consultation with the Congress that held the ultimate power over him. To keep its confidence he would have to take its leaders into his. He could not hide from them essential information, or abuse his powers and then defy them to do anything about it. He would have to make sure, through consultation in advance, that major decisions met with their concurrence. This would restrain his individual power to do great deeds both good and ill. But those who reflect upon the headstrong acts of recent Presidents taken without consultation outside their immediate, sycophantic circles of advisers may well conclude that more bad deeds than good ones would be forestalled by the kind of collective leadership that a degree of enforced collaboration would bring about.

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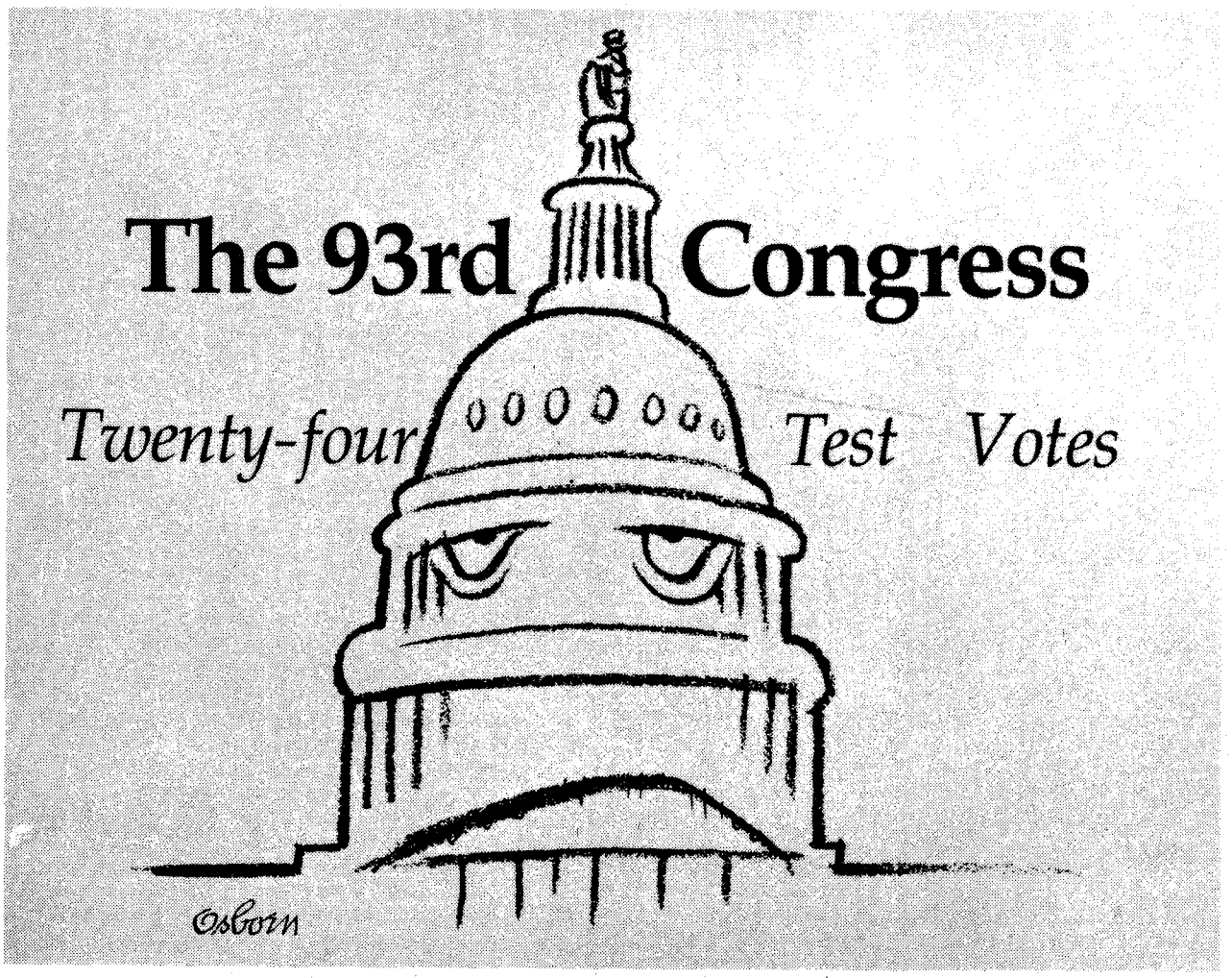

The highhandedness of Richard Nixon and his accomplices helped transform Congress from dormouse to terrier. Although the legislators never seriously grappled with inflation, recession, the energy crisis or the obsolete tax structure, they did nip at the President's war powers, at military and foreign aid budgets, at impoundment of appropriated funds, at excessive bureaucratic secrecy and snooping. And they earned a blue ribbon for their exposure of executive wrongdoing. This will be remembered as the Congress that held office during a rapid rise in presidential power, followed by the unprecedented resignation first of the Vice President, and then of the President. Briefly, the legislative branch was the repository of whatever national leadership there was. Like Dr. Johnson's dog, the 93rd Congress was remarkable not for walking well on two feet, but for staying on its feet from January 1973 through the early months of the Ford administration in 1974.

Twenty-four votes are an imprecise measure of performance. Sometimes a bad vote is a lifeline to reelection. A chart like the one that follows does not fairly portray a member's legislative diligence, effectiveness or the quality of leadership on the one or two subjects in which a member has special competence. Nor do two dozen floor votes give us the legislators' opinions on all the key controversies. Many important bills are gutted or buried in committees, where the hard bargaining goes on. The votes listed here are, however, a clue to the interests and ideas each member has served.

The Editors

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Rating the 93rd Congress

24 Test Votes

HOUSE

1. INDOCHINA: *May 10, 1973.*
Addabbo (D, NY) motion to deny the Defense Department authority to transfer funds from other defense programs for use in Southeast Asia, including the bombing of Cambodia. Adopted 219-188.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

2. WAR POWERS: *October 12, 1973.*
Adoption of a conference report on the bill to establish a 60-day limit on the President's powers to commit US troops abroad, unless Congress declared war or specifically authorized the action or was unable to meet because of an armed attack on the United States, and to permit Congress to end such a commitment at any time by passage of a concurrent resolution, which would have statutory authority without a presidential signature. Adopted 238-123.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

3. TRADE: *December 11, 1973.*
A bill giving the President broad powers to negotiate trade expansion agreements and lower trade barriers subject to congressional veto procedures, provide adjustment assistance for workers and industries hurt by imports, and to retaliate against unfair trade practices. Adopted 272-140.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

4. OIL PRICE ROLLBACK: *March 7, 1974.*
Amendment by Dingell (D, Mich.) to roll back the price of domestic crude oil to $5.25 a barrel and to allow prices to rise no more than 35 percent above that ceiling. Rejected 163-216.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

5. BUSING: *March 27, 1974.*
Ashbrook (R, Ohio) motion to prohibit any appropriated funds from being used for busing to achieve school desegregation. Adopted 239-168.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

6. MILITARY BUDGET: *May 22, 1974.*
Amendment by Aspin (D, Wisc.) to cut the total Defense procurement authorization by $733.1 million—to $21.9 billion—by setting a ceiling equivalent to the fiscal '74 congressionally approved procurement appropriations plus a 7.4 percent adjustment for inflation. Rejected 185-209.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

7. LAND USE: *June 11, 1974.*
Rule permitting House consideration of a bill to provide federal grants to the states to help them draft comprehensive land use plans under guidelines established in the bill. Rejected 204-211.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

8. BIRTH CONTROL: *June 27, 1974.*
Amendment to the Labor-HEW appropriations bill offered by Roncallo (R, NY) barring any funds to pay for abortions, abortion-causing drugs or devices, abortion referral services or support of research to develop methods of abortion or to force any recipient of federal funds to provide abortions or insurance benefits for abortions. Rejected 123-247.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

9. PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS: *June 27, 1974.*
Obey (D, Wisc.) motion to increase appropriations for public service jobs by $300 million, bringing the total close to the $1.25 billion appropriated for the same purpose in fiscal year 1973 (when unemployment was lower). Adopted 231-171.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

10. ABM FUNDS: *August 6, 1974.*
Giaimo (D, Conn.) move to reduce funds for the Safeguard ABM system—$37.5 million from army operations and maintenance funds and $45 million from research and development. (The US and the USSR had already agreed to restrict themselves to one ABM installation each.) Rejected 182-219.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

11. CAMPAIGN FINANCING: *August 8, 1974.*
Motion by Udall (D, Ariz.) to provide partial public financing for congressional general election campaigns through a matching grant of federal money (no more than $20,000 to any candidate) to be raised from voluntary check-offs on individual income tax returns. Rejected 187-228.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

12. URBAN MASS TRANSIT: *August 15, 1974.*
Milford's (D, Tex.) motion to cut from the $20.4 billion mass transit authorization bill all federal operating subsidies for existing mass transit systems. Rejected 197-202.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

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SENATE

1. MASS TRANSIT: *March 14, 1973.*
Muskie (D, Maine) and Baker (R, Tenn.) proposal to give states and cities the option of using $850 million a year of federal urban highway funds in the Highway Trust Fund for buses or rail transit (subway) construction programs. Adopted 49-44.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

2. WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS: *March 20, 1973.*
Proxmire (D, Wisc.) amendment to direct the President to freeze prices (including raw agricultural product prices), rents, wages, salaries, interest rates and dividends for 180 days after enactment of the bill at levels not higher than the highest levels in effect during the 30-day period ending March 15, 1973. Rejected 36-51.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

3. ARMS SALES: *June 25, 1973.*
Nelson (D, Wisc.) motion to require the President to report to Congress any proposed arms sale exceeding $25 million and cumulative sales in any fiscal year exceeding $50 million to a country prior to undertaking the transaction; and to provide for a procedure by which either the House or Senate could disapprove the transaction within 30 days of the President's report. Adopted 44-43.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

4. WAR POWERS: *July 20, 1973.*
Eagleton (D, Mo.) amendment to include within the restrictions in the war powers bill on the use of military forces by the President, civilians under contract to, employed or directed by the federal government, as well as military personnel. (The object here was to get a congressional handle on covert military intervention abroad by nonmilitary US agents [*i.e.*, CIA]). Rejected 34-53.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

5. INDOCHINA AID: *September 27, 1973.*
Fulbright (D, Ark.) move to delete from the defense procurement bill a provision authorizing funds for military assistance to South Vietnam and Laos. Rejected 43-51.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

6. FUEL CONSERVATION: *November 15, 1973.*
Haskell (D, Colo.) proposal to require the President to put into effect by January 15, 1974 a fuel rationing plan. (As subsequently shown, voluntary rationing did not work.) Rejected 40-48.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

7. OIL PRICES: *December 19, 1973.*
Long (D, La.) motion to table an amendment by Mondale (D, Minn.) that would limit price increases of crude and refined oil to actual increases in the cost of producing them. (Within hours after the vote, the price of domestic crude was raised one dollar a barrel.) Adopted 47-44.
(A vote to table is marked minus.)

8. CAMPAIGN FINANCING: *April 9, 1974.*
Cannon (D, Nev.) motion to table (kill) a proposal to give congressional candidates in general elections an outright federal subsidy of 25 percent of a specified campaign fund total (40 percent for presidential candidates). In addition, the federal government would match private contributions of $100 or less to congressional races, thus bringing the overall subsidy to 62.5 percent of allowed total campaign expenditures, and for presidential candidates 75 percent. Adopted 66-23.
(A vote to table is marked minus.)

9. BUSING: *May 16, 1974.*
Motion by Brooke (R, Mass.) to table a Griffin (R, Mich.) amendment (modified earlier to give the courts the final say in busing cases), stating that no student should be bused beyond the school next closest to his home. Rejected 45-47.
(A vote to table is marked plus.)

10. FOREIGN AID: *May 29, 1974.*
Humphrey (D, Minn.) motion to table a Dominick (R, Colo.) amendment that would deny Export-Import Bank loans or credits to any nonmarket (nonfree enterprise) country. Adopted 59-25.
(A vote to table is marked plus.)

11. TAX REFORM: *June 20, 1974.*
Procedural motion by Mansfield (D, Mont.) intended to block a filibuster led by Allen (D, Ala.) and thus clear the way for consideration of a tax-reform package. Rejected 45-47.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

12. AID TO CHILE: *October 1, 1974.*
Kennedy (D, Mass.) amendment to the foreign aid bill, striking out about $15 million in military assistance to the Chilean junta on the grounds that it is "engaged in a continuing pattern of gross violation of human rights, including the torture of political prisoners." Adopted 47-41.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

New Republic ratings:

The symbol [+] indicates *TNR*'s agreement with the position taken; the symbol [–] indicates disagreement. The pairs for and against legislation follow the same general classification. Those absent or not voting are tabulated [0]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate or the House. Members who died during the 93rd Congress are omitted.

*The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.

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THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

	1 Mass Transit	2 Wage-Price Controls	3 Arms Sales	4 War Powers	5 Indochina Aid	6 Fuel Conservation	7 Oil Prices	8 Campaign Financing	9 Busing	10 Foreign Aid	11 Tax Reform	12 Aid to Chile
ALABAMA												
1 Edwards (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–
2 Dickinson (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3 Nichols (D)	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
4 Bevill (D)	–	+	+	+	0	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
5 Jones (D)	–	+	+	–	–	0	–	+	+	–	–	+
6 Buchanan (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+
7 Flowers (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
ALASKA												
AL Young (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–
ARIZONA												
1 Rhodes (R)	–	–	+	–	–	0	–	+	–	–	–	–
2 Udall (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
3 Steiger (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
4 Conlan (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
ARKANSAS												
1 Alexander (D)	+	+	+	–	0	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
2 Mills (D)	+	0	0	0	+	–	–	0	0	–	+	–
3 Hammerschmidt (R)	–	0	+	–	–	–	–	0	+	–	–	–
4 Thornton (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	0	+	–	–	+
CALIFORNIA												
1 Clausen (R)	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
2 Johnson (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
3 Moss (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	0	+	–	+	–	+
4 Leggett (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Burton, Phillip (D)	+	0	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Burton, John (D)								+	+	+	+	+
7 Dellums (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Stark (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Edwards (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Gubser (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
11 Ryan (D)	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
12 Talcott (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
13 Lagomarsino (R)					–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
14 Waldie (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
15 McFall (D)	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
16 Sisk (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
17 McCloskey (R)	+	0	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Mathias (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
19 Holifield (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	0	0	0	0	+
20 Moorhead (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 Hawkins (D)	+	0	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Corman (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
23 Clawson (R)	–	0	+	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–
24 Rousselot (R)	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	0	–	–	–
25 Wiggins (R)	–	0	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
26 Rees (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	0
27 Goldwater (R)	–	0	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
28 Bell (R)	–	0	+	0	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	0
29 Danielson (D)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
30 Roybal (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
31 Wilson, Charles (D)	+	+	–	+	0	–	+	+	+	–	–	0
32 Hosmer (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
33 Pettis (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
34 Hanna (D)	+	0	0	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
35 Anderson (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
36 Ketchum (R)	0	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
37 Burke (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+
38 Brown (D)	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39 Hinshaw (R)	–	–	+	–	–	0	–	+	–	–	–	–
40 Wilson, Bob (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
41 Van Deerlin (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
42 Burgener (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
43 Veysey (R)	0	+	0	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
COLORADO												
1 Schroeder (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Brotzman (R)	–	0	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
3 Evans (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4 Johnson (R)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	0	0	+	–	–
5 Armstrong (R)	–	+	+	0	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
CONNECTICUT												
1 Cotter (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
2 Steele (R)	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
3 Giaimo (D)	+	+	–	+	0	+	–	+	+	+	+	0
4 McKinney (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
5 Sarasin (R)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Grasso (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE												
AL du Pont (R)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+

	1 Mass Transit	2 Wage-Price Controls	3 Arms Sales	4 War Powers	5 Indochina Aid	6 Fuel Conservation	7 Oil Prices	8 Campaign Financing	9 Busing	10 Foreign Aid	11 Tax Reform	12 Aid to Chile
FLORIDA												
1 Sikes (D)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2 Fuqua (D)	0	0	+	–	–	–	–	0	+	–	–	–
3 Bennett (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
4 Chappell (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
5 Gunter (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	0	+	0	+	–
6 Young (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
7 Gibbons (D)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
8 Haley (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
9 Frey (R)	–	0	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
10 Bafalis (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Rogers (D)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
12 Burke (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
13 Lehman (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Pepper (D)	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
15 Fascell (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
GEORGIA												
1 Ginn (D)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2 Mathis (D)	–	0	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
3 Brinkley (D)	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	0	+	–	–
4 Blackburn (R)	0	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	0	–
5 Young (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0
6 Flynt (D)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
7 Davis (D)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	0	0	0
8 Stuckey (D)	+	–	+	+	0	+	–	+	+	+	–	0
9 Landrum (D)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	0
10 Stephens (D)	–	0	+	–	0	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
HAWAII												
1 Matsunaga (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
2 Mink (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
IDAHO												
1 Symms (R)	0	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Hansen (R)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	0	0	0	0	0
ILLINOIS												
1 Metcalfe (D)	+	0	–	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Murphy, M. (D)	+	+	–	+	+	0	–	+	+	+	–	+
3 Hanrahan (R)	–	+	+	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
4 Derwinski (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–
5 Kluczynski (D)	+	+	–	+	0	0	–	0	+	+	–	+
6 Collier (R)	–	–	+	–	–	0	–	0	–	–	+	–
7 Collins (D)		+	–	+	+	0	–	+	+	+	+	+
8 Rostenkowski (D)	+	+	–	+	+	0	–	0	+	+	–	+
9 Yates (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Young (R)	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
11 Annunzio (D)	+	+	–	+	–	0	+	–	+	+	–	+
12 Crane (R)	0	0	+	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–
13 McClory (R)	+	0	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
14 Erlenborn (R)	–	+	0	–	0	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
15 Arends (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	0
16 Anderson (R)	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	0
17 O'Brien (R)	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
18 Michel (R)	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
19 Railsback (R)	–	+	+	–	0	0	–	+	+	+	+	–
20 Findley (R)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
21 Madigan (R)	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	0	0	–	+	+
22 Shipley (D)	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	0
23 Price (D)	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
24 Gray (D)	+	+	+	–	0	–	+	–	+	0	0	0
INDIANA												
1 Madden (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	–	+
2 Landgrebe (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Brademas (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Roush (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
5 Hillis (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
6 Bray (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Myers (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
8 Zion (R)	0	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Hamilton (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
10 Dennis (R)	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
11 Hudnut (R)	–	–	+	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
IOWA												
1 Mezvinsky (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Culver (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
3 Gross (R)	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
4 Smith (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Scherle (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–
6 Mayne (R)	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
KANSAS												
1 Sebelius (R)	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	Mass Transit	Wage-Price Controls	Arms Sales	War Powers	Indochina Aid	Fuel Conservation	Oil Prices	Campaign Financing	Busing	Foreign Aid	Tax Reform	Aid to Chile
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
KANSAS, [con't]												
2 Roy (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3 Winn (R)	–	0	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
4 Shriver (R)	–	+	+	–	0	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
5 Skubitz (R)	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
KENTUCKY												
1 Stubblefield (D)	0	–	–	+	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Natcher (D)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
3 Mazzoli (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
4 Snyder (R)	+	0	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Carter (R)	0	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
6 Breckinridge (D)	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
7 Perkins (D)	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
LOUISIANA												
1 Hébert (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	0	0	–	–	0
2 Boggs (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
3 Treen (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Waggonner (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
5 Passman (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	0
6 Rarick (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0	0
7 Breaux (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
8 Long (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
MAINE												
1 Kyros (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Cohen (R)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
MARYLAND												
1 Bauman (R)		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Long (D)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
3 Sarbanes (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Holt (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
5 Hogan (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
6 Byron (D)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
7 Mitchell (D)	+	+	–	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Gude (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MASSACHUSETTS												
1 Conte (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2 Boland (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Donohue (D)	+	0	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
4 Drinan (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Cronin (R)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Harrington (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
7 Macdonald (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	0	0	+	–	+
8 O'Neill (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
9 Moakley (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
10 Heckler (R)	+	+	–	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Burke (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
12 Studds (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MICHIGAN												
1 Conyers (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Esch (R)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	0	0	+	+	–
3 Brown (R)	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	0	–	–	–	+
4 Hutchinson (R)	–	–	+	–	–	0	–	0	–	–	–	–
5 Vander Veen (D)				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Chamberlain (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
7 Riegle (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
8 Traxler (D)						+	+	–	+	+	+	–
9 Vander Jagt (R)	0	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
10 Cederberg (R)	–	0	+	–	0	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
11 Ruppe (R)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
12 O'Hara (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
13 Diggs (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+
14 Nedzi (D)	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	0	–	+
15 Ford (D)	+	+	–	+	–	0	+	+	+	+	–	0
16 Dingell (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
17 Griffiths (D)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	0	0	+	–	+
18 Huber (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
19 Broomfield (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	0	+	–
MINNESOTA												
1 Quie (R)	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
2 Nelsen (R)	–	–	+	0	+	–	–	0	–	–	–	–
3 Frenzel (R)	+	+	+	–	0	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
4 Karth (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+
5 Fraser (D)	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Zwach (R)	+	+	+	–	+	0	–	0	–	+	+	–
7 Bergland (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
8 Blatnik (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	0	0	+
MISSISSIPPI												
1 Whitten (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
2 Bowen (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
3 Montgomery (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
4 Cochran (R)	–	0	+	–	–	–	–	0	+	–	+	–
5 Lott (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–

	Mass Transit	Wage-Price Controls	Arms Sales	War Powers	Indochina Aid	Fuel Conservation	Oil Prices	Campaign Financing	Busing	Foreign Aid	Tax Reform	Aid to Chile
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MISSOURI												
1 Clay (D)	+	–	–	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0
2 Symington (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0
3 Sullivan (D)	+	0	–	0	0	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
4 Randall (D)	+	+	–	0	–	–	–	–	+	0	–	–
5 Bolling (D)	+	–	+	–	0	+	+	0	+	–	+	+
6 Litton (D)	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
7 Taylor (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Ichord (D)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Hungate (D)	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	0	+	+	+	–
10 Burlison (D)	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	0	+	–
MONTANA												
1 Shoup (R)	+	0	0	–	–	+	–	0	0	–	–	–
2 Melcher (D)	+	0	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA												
1 Thone (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2 McCollister (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
3 Martin (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
NEVADA												
AL Towell (R)	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	0	–	–
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
1 Wyman (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	0	+	–	–	–
2 Cleveland (R)	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
NEW JERSEY												
1 Hunt (R)	–	–	0	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 Sandman (R)	0	0	+	–	–	–	0	–	+	–	–	+
3 Howard (D)	+	0	–	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	–	+
4 Thompson (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	–	+
5 Frelinghuysen (R)	0	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+
6 Forsythe (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
7 Widnall (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
8 Roe (D)	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
9 Helstoski (D)	+	+	–	+	–	0	+	+	+	+	–	+
10 Rodino (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
11 Minish (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
12 Rinaldo (R)	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
13 Maraziti (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
14 Daniels (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	0	0	+	–	+
15 Patten (D)	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
NEW MEXICO												
1 Lujan (R)	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
2 Runnels (D)	+	+	–	–	+	0	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEW YORK												
1 Pike (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Grover (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	0	–	–	+	+
3 Roncallo (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
4 Lent (R)	–	0	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
5 Wydler (R)	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
6 Wolff (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Addabbo (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
8 Rosenthal (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
9 Delaney (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
10 Biaggi (D)	0	0	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	0	–	+
11 Brasco (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0
12 Chisholm (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+
13 Podell (D)	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	0	+	0	+	+
14 Rooney (D)	0	+	–	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 Carey (D)	+	+	–	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+
16 Holtzman (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Murphy (D)	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	0	+	–	0	+
18 Koch (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Rangel (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Abzug (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Badillo (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Bingham (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Peyser (R)	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	0	+	+	+	+
24 Reid (D)	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0
25 Fish (R)	–	+	+	+	+	–	0	+	+	0	+	+
26 Gilman (R)	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
27 Robison (R)	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28 Stratton (D)	–	–	–	0	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
29 King (R)	0	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
30 McEwen (R)	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	0	+	0
31 Mitchell (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
32 Hanley (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
33 Walsh (R)	–	–	0	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
34 Horton (R)	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
35 Conable (R)	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+
36 Smith (R)	–	+	0	–	+	0	+	+	–	–	+	+
37 Dulski (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	0	–	+	+	–	0
38 Kemp (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
39 Hastings (R)	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	1 Mass Transit	2 Wage-Price Controls	3 Arms Sales	4 War Powers	5 Indochina Aid	6 Fuel Conservation	7 Oil Prices	8 Campaign Financing	9 Busing	10 Foreign Aid	11 Tax Reform	12 Aid to Chile
NORTH CAROLINA												
1 Jones (D)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
2 Fountain (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3 Henderson (D)	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
4 Andrews (D)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
5 Mizell (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Preyer (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	0	–	+	–
7 Rose (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
8 Ruth (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Martin (R)	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
10 Broyhill (R)	–	0	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
11 Taylor (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	0	–	+	–
NORTH DAKOTA												
AL Andrews (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
OHIO												
1 Luken (D)				+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Clancy (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Whalen (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Guyer (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Latta (R)	–	–	+	+	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Harsha (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
7 Brown (R)	0	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
8 Powell (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Ashley (D)	+	0	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
10 Miller (R)	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
11 Stanton, J. W. (R)	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
12 Devine (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 Mosher (R)	+	0	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
14 Seiberling (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Wylie (R)	–	–	+	+	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–
16 Regula (R)	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
17 Ashbrook (R)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
18 Hays (D)	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	0	+	–	–	+
19 Carney (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
20 Stanton, J. V. (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
21 Stokes (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Vanik (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
23 Minshall (R)	–	+	+	–	–	0	–	0	0	–	–	0
OKLAHOMA												
1 Jones (D)	+	0	+	0	–	0	–	+	–	–	+	–
2 McSpadden (D)	0	+	–	–	+	–	–	0	–	0	0	0
3 Albert (D)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4 Steed (D)	–	0	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
5 Jarman (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
6 Camp (R)	0	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
OREGON												
1 Wyatt (R)	+	0	0	–	–	0	0	+	–	–	+	–
2 Ullman (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	0
3 Green (D)	0	0	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
4 Dellenback (R)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	0
PENNSYLVANIA												
1 Barrett (D)	0	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
2 Nix (D)	+	+	–	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	–	+
3 Green (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
4 Eilberg (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
5 Ware (R)	–	0	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
6 Yatron (D)	+	0	–	+	–	+	+	+	0	+	–	+
7 Williams (R)	–	–	–	+	0	0	–	+	–	–	0	0
8 Biester (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Shuster (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	0	–
10 McDade (R)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
11 Flood (D)	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
12 Murtha (D)				+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
13 Coughlin (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+
14 Moorhead (D)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
15 Rooney (D)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Eshleman (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
17 Schneebeli (R)	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
18 Heinz (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
19 Goodling (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	0	0	–	–	–
20 Gaydos (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
21 Dent (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
22 Morgan (D)	+	+	–	+	+	0	–	+	+	–	–	+
23 Johnson (R)	–	–	+	–	–	0	–	+	–	–	+	–
24 Vigorito (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
25 Clark (D)	+	+	–	+	–	0	–	0	+	+	–	+
RHODE ISLAND												
1 St. Germain (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Tiernan (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA												
1 Davis (D)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
2 Spence (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3 Dorn (D)	–	+	+	–	+	–	0	0	0	–	–	+
SOUTH CAROLINA, [con't]												
4 Mann (D)	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
5 Gettys (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
6 Young (R)	–	0	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
SOUTH DAKOTA												
1 Denholm (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
2 Abdnor (R)	–	–	0	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
TENNESSEE												
1 Quillen (R)	–	0	+	–	–	–	0	0	–	–	–	–
2 Duncan (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3 Baker (R)	–	0	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Evins (D)	+	0	+	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–	–
5 Fulton (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	0	+	+	–	+
6 Beard (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Jones (D)	0	–	–	+	–	–	–	0	0	–	–	–
8 Kuykendall (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
TEXAS												
1 Patman (D)	+	+	–	–	0	–	–	+	+	0	–	+
2 Wilson (D)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+
3 Collins (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Roberts (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	0	0	–	–	–
5 Steelman (R)	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
6 Teague (D)	0	+	+	–	0	0	–	+	–	–	0	0
7 Archer (R)	–	0	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Eckhardt (D)	+	–	–	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Brooks (D)	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
10 Pickle (D)	+	0	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
11 Poage (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
12 Wright (D)	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
13 Price (R)	0	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
14 Young (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
15 de la Garza (D)	0	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	0
16 White (D)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
17 Burleson (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
18 Jordan (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Mahon (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
20 Gonzalez (D)	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
21 Fisher (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
22 Casey (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
23 Kazen (D)	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
24 Milford (D)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	0	–
UTAH												
1 McKay (D)	0	0	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	0	+	–
2 Owens (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
VERMONT												
AL Mallary (R)	–	0	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
VIRGINIA												
1 Downing (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	0	–	–
2 Whitehurst (R)	–	–	+	0	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
3 Satterfield (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
4 Daniel, R. (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
5 Daniel, W. (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
6 Butler (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
7 Robinson (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
8 Parris (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+
9 Wampler (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
10 Broyhill (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
WASHINGTON												
1 Pritchard (R)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2 Meeds (D)	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Hansen (D)	+	+	+	–	+	0	+	0	0	0	0	+
4 McCormack (D)	+	0	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Foley (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
6 Hicks (D)	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Adams (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA												
1 Mollohan (D)	0	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	0	–
2 Staggers (D)	+	+	–	+	+	0	–	+	+	–	–	+
3 Slack (D)	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
4 Hechler (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
WISCONSIN												
1 Aspin (D)	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
2 Kastenmeier (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Thomson (R)	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
4 Zablocki (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
5 Reuss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Steiger (R)	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
7 Obey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Froehlich (R)	–	0	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
9 Davis (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
WYOMING												
AL Roncalio (D)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

	Mass Transit	Wage-Price Controls	Arms Sales	War Powers	Indochina Aid	Fuel Conservation	Oil Prices	Campaign Financing	Busing	Foreign Aid	Tax Reform	Aid to Chile
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALABAMA												
Allen (D)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
Sparkman (D)	−	−	0	−	−	0	−	+	−	0	−	0
ALASKA												
Gravel (D)	−	−	0	+	+	+	0	−	0	0	−	0
Stevens (R)	−	−	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
ARIZONA												
Fannin (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−
Goldwater (R)	−	0	−	0	−	0	−	0	−	−	−	−
ARKANSAS												
Fulbright (D)	−	0	+	+	+	+	−	0	0	0	+	+
McClellan (D)	−	−	−	0	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
CALIFORNIA												
Cranston (D)	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Tunney (D)	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
COLORADO												
Dominick (R)	+	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	0
Haskell (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
CONNECTICUT												
Ribicoff (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Weicker (R)	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
DELAWARE												
Biden (D)	+	+	0	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
Roth (R)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
FLORIDA												
Chiles (D)	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
Gurney (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−
GEORGIA												
Nunn (D)	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Talmadge (D)	−	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−
HAWAII												
Fong (R)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	+	−	−
Inouye (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0
IDAHO												
Church (D)	+	−	+	+	+	−	0	0	+	+	+	+
McClure (R)	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	0	−
ILLINOIS												
Percy (R)	+	0	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
Stevenson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
INDIANA												
Bayh (D)	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	0
Hartke (D)	−	+	+	0	+	−	+	−	−	0	+	+
IOWA												
Clark (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Hughes (D)	−	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+
KANSAS												
Dole (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
Pearson (R)	+	−	+	−	0	−	+	−	+	+	−	0
KENTUCKY												
Cook (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	0	0
Huddleston (D)	−	+	+	−	+	0	+	−	−	+	+	+
LOUISIANA												
Johnston (D)	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
Long (D)	−	0	−	−	0	−	−	0	−	−	−	−
MAINE												
Hathaway (D)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Muskie (D)	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MARYLAND												
Beall (R)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Mathias (R)	+	−	0	+	+	−	0	−	+	+	−	0
MASSACHUSETTS												
Brooke (R)	+	−	+	−	+	−	0	−	+	+	+	0
Kennedy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	−	+	+	+	+
MICHIGAN												
Griffin (R)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	+	−	−
Hart (D)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
MINNESOTA												
Humphrey (D)	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mondale (D)	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISSISSIPPI												
Eastland (D)	−	+	−	−	−	+	0	+	−	+	−	−
Stennis (D)	−	0	0	0	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
MISSOURI												
Eagleton (D)	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Symington (D)	+	0	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+

	Mass Transit	Wage-Price Controls	Arms Sales	War Powers	Indochina Aid	Fuel Conservation	Oil Prices	Campaign Financing	Busing	Foreign Aid	Tax Reform	Aid to Chile
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MONTANA												
Mansfield (D)	−	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Metcalf (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	0	+
NEBRASKA												
Curtis (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−
Hruska (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−
NEVADA												
Bible (D)	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
Cannon (D)	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
Cotton (R)	−	−	−	0	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−
McIntyre (D)	0	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
NEW JERSEY												
Case (R)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Williams (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
NEW MEXICO												
Domenici (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	0	−	−
Montoya (D)	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
NEW YORK												
Buckley (Con-R)	+	0	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−
Javits (R)	+	−	0	−	0	−	+	−	+	+	0	+
NORTH CAROLINA												
Ervin (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Helms (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
NORTH DAKOTA												
Burdick (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
Young (R)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
OHIO												
Metzenbaum (D)								0	+	+	+	+
Taft (R)	+	−	0	−	0	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
OKLAHOMA												
Bartlett (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Bellmon (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	+	0	0
OREGON												
Hatfield (R)	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
Packwood (R)	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	0
PENNSYLVANIA												
Schweiker (R)	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
Scott (D)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
RHODE ISLAND												
Pastore (D)	+	0	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Pell (R)	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	0	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Hollings (D)	−	−	−	−	−	0	0	+	−	−	−	−
Thurmond (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
SOUTH DAKOTA												
Abourezk (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
McGovern (D)	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	−	+	0	+	+
TENNESSEE												
Baker (R)	+	0	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	+	−	−
Brock (R)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
TEXAS												
Bentsen (D)	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
Tower (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
UTAH												
Bennett (R)	+	−	−	−	−	−	0	0	0	0	−	−
Moss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	0
VERMONT												
Aiken (R)	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
Stafford (R)	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	0	−
VIRGINIA												
Byrd (Ind)	−	+	+	0	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Scott (R)	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−
WASHINGTON												
Jackson (D)	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Magnuson (D)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA												
Byrd (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+
Randolph (D)	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
WISCONSIN												
Nelson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	−	+	0	+	+
Proxmire (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
WYOMING												
Hansen (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
McGee (D)	−	+	−	0	−	+	−	0	+	+	−	−

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Antonia
(Rocky Mountain)

The Gambler
(Paramount)

I remember reading about Antonia Brico in the 1930s—the first woman orchestral conductor I'd ever heard of—and thinking that the idea smacked of stunt. How wrong I, and my elders, were. Brico was a gifted, thoroughly schooled musician, American educated before she became a student of the great Karl Muck in Berlin. She made her debut conducting the Berlin Philharmonic, conducted in the United States and around Europe before World War II, was praised by Sibelius and Schweitzer among others, and even had a Woman's Symphony Orchestra in New York for four years. But what had helped to launch her, the odd fact that a woman was a conductor, was what soon hindered her; the novelty wore off, and sexist prejudice worked very strongly against her.

In 1947 she moved to Denver to become the conductor of the orchestra there, but that job fell through. She remained in Denver, to form a semi-professional orchestra, now called the Brico Symphony, and to teach piano and conducting. In 1972 and 1973, when Brico was over 70, two filmmakers, Judy Collins (the singer) and Jill Godmilow, made trips to Denver and, over a period of six months, made a one-hour documentary about her. It's a very moving picture, uneven cinematically but filled with the affection of the filmmakers and the largeness of their subject. About Brico's talent no one could comment from this film alone; but it testifies splendidly to her spirit and mind, her power to persist without the pretense that she hasn't suffered from rebuffs.

Rehearsals and performance, teaching and coaching, are woven around conversations with Brico in her home, themselves illuminated with stills and memorabilia. It's all fascinating and sad. In one particularly good sequence we see her preparing and presenting Helen Palacas, a charming and able girl of about 15, as her soloist in the Schumann piano concerto. Then there's a sequence in which Brico tells of her visit to Schweitzer in Africa. She brings in his photograph to show us, looks at it, and for a moment is unable to speak. I'll remember that moment.

A brief animation sequence, supposedly comic, about male versus female tympanists, ought to be snipped right out; and the ending is a mite abrupt. But *Antonia* is a warm tribute, long-delayed, to a woman who must be called noble.

It's been playing in New York on a double bill with *I. F. Stone's Weekly* (*TNR*, Nov. 10, '73) which, since its first showings, has gone on to win prizes here and abroad. The double bill is now being booked elsewhere. Ask your local manager to book it; and see two good one-hour documentaries about two good human beings, with courage. (Rocky Mountain Productions, Inc., 1775 Broadway, New York, NY, 10019. 212—489-0810.)

Karel Reisz is a melancholy example of how a talent can disintegrate by not being used. He was one of the leaders of the British Free Cinema movement, and his first feature, *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1960), was one of the best of the social-realist films of the period. He had to wait three years for his next film, a remake of *Night Must Fall* that was fussed and compromised into failure. Another three years and he made the misconceived *Morgan*, two years later *The Loves of Isadora*, botched both by him and his producers. The subtext of his career has been one of struggle just to work, then working below his best because of the strain and insecurity in himself and the worried interference of producers.

Now, five years later comes another Reisz picture, *The Gambler*. (Not based on Dostoevsky; that novella was made into *The Great Sinner*, 1949.) It ranks with his worst, without even any evident ambition toward cinematic style, even toward sheer clarity and pace. Reportedly Reisz worked for several years on the screenplay with James Toback, who gets sole credit; the script is pretentious and empty. Reisz's quality, apparent in his early films and writings, seems to have atrophied with disuse and tension.

The Gambler, like the recent *California Split*, is about an obsession with betting. But where Robert Altman's film flops around with broken-backed, spottily amusing improvisation, Reisz's film aims to explore the psychical qualities of the gambling mania. It burrows in at great length, with some ludicrous metaphors and some ludicrous language, and ends up by revealing virtually nothing. This picture doesn't exist if it doesn't make the grip of the mania tangible to us and if it doesn't offer some explanation of it. It does neither of these things, so it doesn't exist.

James Caan plays a young college teacher of English in New York who, at the start, gets into a gambling debt of $44,000. Right away we want to know, how come? If he's enough of a gambling junkie to get in that deep, how come he's still functioning normally, as teacher and man? Had he been losing only two-dollar bets until then? He certainly goes right down the slide after that, but it's less as if he had been declining steadily than as if he had just started. He gets money from his doctor-mother but instead of paying his debt, he gambles and loses; so he gets into the hands of criminal usurers. To keep from getting killed when he can't pay up, he induces a black student of his, on the basketball team, to throw a game on which the crooks have bet. Then he goes straight from the game to a black prostitute (a symbolic echo of the black player) and deliberately provokes a fight so that he gets his face slashed. He has "paid up." In the last shot he looks at his bloodied face in the mirror, and smiles.

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

Amarcord. Fellini's exquisite memoir of an Italian town, mid-'30s. Two and ¼ lyric hours, poignant, funny, and lovely.

Cabaret. Revived. Not much of Isherwood left in this musical of his Berlin story, but Michael York is winning and Bob Fosse's direction is very flashy.

Chinatown. Polanski eyes the private eye of the '30s, in Hollywood. Too long and *too* clever but out of the ordinary.

Claudine. Comedy-romance in Harlem today. James Earl Jones and Diahann Carroll charming as mature lovers.

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War Between the States

Peace in the Middle East? Reflections on Justice and Nationhood by Noam Chomsky

(Pantheon; $7.95)
(Vintage; $1.95)

Noam Chomsky is a peculiar case.

About two decades ago he made an outstanding contribution to linguistic theory, known as "transformational grammar." In effect he applied mathematical logic to the syntax of language and subsequently developed a theory of language acquisition. After a decade of intense and often acrimonious disputation with the then reigning linguistic orthodoxy of "structuralism," he succeeded in enthroning a new Chomskian orthodoxy that is now being challenged by some of his former disciples.

In the past decade, however, he has increasingly devoted himself to political and historical issues. He was drawn into them publicly by a passionate and principled opposition to the Vietnam war and more recently by an equally deep disquietude fostered by the Arab-Israeli conflict. Politically he has stood somewhere along the spectrum of what came to be known as the "New Left," a term that was never very precise and has become a somewhat amorphous memory. In Chomsky's case this association has been expressed by a choice of political sympathies, as much in the anarchist as in the Marxist tradition; a resolutely idealistic, moralistic or utopian streak, depending on what one thinks of it; a preference for making what he has called "'respectable' left-liberalism" the object of his wrath.

Thus Chomsky's political writings present two problems. The first is the transference of intellectual authority from one field to another. If Chomsky had not gained fame in linguistic theory, he might have had a much harder time being taken seriously in political and historical matters. Famous scientists and philosophers have been notorious political innocents, and sometimes worse, but they have been given a respectful hearing in politics and have even enjoyed a special prestige owing to their accomplishments in altogether different fields. The carryover is, therefore, problematic but it would be foolish to deny that it exists psychologically, even if Chomsky himself would want, as no doubt he does, his political and historical writings to be judged on purely political and historical grounds.

The second problem typified by him is that of a highly ideological cast of mind that makes use of history as far as it will serve the ideology. I do not wish to deny that historians, perhaps all historians, have been ideologically motivated. Still there is a difference between historians with ideology and ideologists with history. Politics and history demand their own kind of training and temperament, which should come through in the work of even a more ideologically minded historian. The question, then, is not whether a strict line can be drawn between history and ideology; it is rather whether the one is so subordinate to the other that the result is an imbalance that no qualified historian, however ideologically bent, would be likely to produce.

Peace in the Middle East? carries on in the Chomskian tradition. It is worth examining for the workings of the kind of political mind it represents as well as for what it says—or does not say—on the subject. The book is made up of an introduction and five chapters by Chomsky, together with an additional foreword by Prof. Irene L. Gendzier. The first four chapters have appeared previously in other publications, sometimes more than once; only the introduction and final chapter were written for this book. The patchwork of old and new does not always result in a consistent point of view, possibly because Chomsky conceived the pieces at different times and aimed them at different audiences. Many readers may be confused and even misled by the persistent use of the present tense. Some statements may or may not have been true at the time of writing, but they could not possibly be true by the time the book came out. For example the reader is told that "at no time has the Soviet Union supported the political demands of the [Arab] guerrillas or given any concrete indication of a desire for further military conflict in the region." This was written in 1971; the first part is no longer true; the second part was not even true when it was written, for one of the moves that set off the 1967 war was a Soviet fabrication to the effect that Israeli troops had massed on the Syrian border.

Chomsky comes on gently. One of his favorite rhetorical devices was known in Cicero's time as the "modesty *topos*." Thus in a speech sponsored by Arab students in 1969, which now makes up the first chapter of this book, Chomsky protested that "I approach these questions with no particular expert knowledge or even intimate contact." He added: "Nor do I have any specific policy recommendation in which I, at least, would place much confidence." After this exhibition of modesty Chomsky proceeds to give every evidence of impressing his audience with how much he really knows and with what conviction and confidence he offers his recommendations.

Another Chomskian tactic is to make a show of above-the-battle impartiality and objectivity. "It is perfectly possible," he told the audience of his first chapter, "to construct an 'Arab case' and a 'Jewish case,' each having a high degree of plausibility and persuasiveness, each quite simple in its essentials." In the third chapter he offers this variant: "The fact is that each of these competing [Arab and Israeli] claims is just in its own terms. Furthermore each claim is in a sense 'absolute'—a demand for survival." Or, conversely, he sometimes says that both sides are equally wrong, as when in the first chapter he asserts that "each side seems to me to be locked into a suicidal policy" in the use of violence. Thereafter most of his book argues the case against Israel.

Another Chomskian argumentative habit might be called the "equation *topos*." Early in his introduction it makes its appearance in the way he handles the egregious Col. Qaddafi of Libya. To Qaddafi, he says, it is obvious that European Jews settled in Israel should return to Europe. He hastens to add that Qaddafi's "precise counterparts in the American Jewish community" think it is equally obvious that the Arab refugees should stay in Arab countries. Whereupon Chomsky draws the conclusion that Qaddafi is no more

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a "fanatic" than his American counterparts and inferentially invokes a plague on both their houses.

"Counterparts" was not enough for Chomsky; they had to be "precise counterparts." I do not know how many American Jews subscribe to the view that Chomsky attributes to them but surely none of them is head of a state with vast oil revenues and French military planes to back up wildly inflammatory calls for a *jihad*, a holy war in the orthodox Islamic tradition. When Qaddafi calls for the elimination of European Jews from Israel, he is aiming at the destruction of the Israeli state, root and branch. However wrong those American "Jewish Qaddafis," as Chomsky calls them, may be, their ideas do not threaten the existence of any Arab state. The Jews driven from Europe had nowhere to return; the majority of Palestinian refugees live in the neighboring state of Jordan of which they are citizens and where—as in Syria, Lebanon and elsewhere—they share a common religion, language and culture. One does not have to agree with the sentiments of these anonymous American Jews to wonder at the propriety of putting them in the same bag as the fire-eating Qaddafi and beating them all with the same stick. The equation of Qaddafi and some American Jews manifestly serves the purpose of disinfecting Qaddafi.

Chomsky is also an inveterate polemicist. One of his intended victims in this book is the well known historian and political commentator, Walter Laqueur. Chomsky berates Laqueur for an article in *The New York Times Magazine* last December, when the oil embargo was still going strong. What offended Chomsky was a suggestion by Laqueur that, if the oil producers played it rough, used the embargo for economic and political blackmail and brought the oil-consuming countries to the brink of financial breakdown, "oil resources of the area could be internationalized, not on behalf of a few oil companies but for the benefit of mankind. The Persian Gulf resources could be managed by an international consortium, with the profits going to the Third World." Chomsky chose to cut off this quotation after "mankind," which may not have done justice to Laqueur's intent, and to interpret it as a polite threat of invasion. Laqueur was obviously saying that two could play at a power game; Chomsky again used the "equation *topos*" in behalf of the Arab oil producers by archly enquiring why Laqueur's concern "for the benefit of mankind" does not extend to internationalizing the industrial and agricultural resources of the West. An argument that is basically about the uses of power on both sides is made the occasion for a display of tit-for-tat moralism.

Chomsky's penchant for playing fast and loose with quotations again betrays him. He dredges up a few words from an editorial that appeared back in the summer of 1964 in the magazine *Dissent*, edited by Irving Howe, one of Chomsky's blackest of *bêtes noires*. Chomsky implies that *Dissent* had called for "a United States-Saigon victory" entailing a "murderous assault on the opposition," thereby sharing responsibility for the massive US intervention the following year. The issue had nothing to do with the Middle East, but since Chomsky had dragged it in, and it seemed inherently implausible, I went to the trouble of checking it. I found that Chomsky had utterly distorted the plain sense of the editorial, which had explicitly ruled out a US military victory and had contended that the "only way out" was the most drastic kind of land reform in South Vietnam. The editorial patiently explained that its aim was *not* "a 'total victory' which would destroy the Viet Cong in the South" but rather "a political arrangement for the coexistence of South and North Vietnam" and even "a US promise to underwrite developmental aid for *both* countries." The attack on *Dissent* is a case history of ideological blindness to the printed page.

A polemical furor also seems to possess Chomsky when he rushes to the defense of an ally, in this case the Rev. Daniel Berrigan. Berrigan made a keynote address before a meeting of the Association of Arab University Graduates in Washington, DC, on October 19, 1973, while the fourth Arab-Israeli war was still raging. Also a practitioner of the "modesty *topos*," Berrigan started out with these words: "I come before you this evening, as a non-expert in every field of human expertise, including the subject you have invited me to explore." On this score Berrigan soon demonstrated that he was telling the truth by saying: "A cease-fire has been offered by Egypt; something unprecedented in the history of this conflict." The cease-fire proposed by Egypt on October 16, the day the Israelis broke through and crossed the Suez Canal, hardly merited such a benediction; every Arab-Israeli war has ended with a cease-fire. Nevertheless Berrigan went on to present himself as a model of impartiality. "I do not wish to begin by 'taking sides,'" he said, "nor indeed to end by 'taking sides.'" To show how he was not taking sides, Berrigan devoted two or three minutes of his lengthy address to criticism of the Arab regimes—their capacity for deception, contempt for their own poor, willingness to sell oil to the superpowers, cupidity and monumental indifference to the facts of the world. None of these criticisms had anything specifically to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Then he settled down to concentrate his wrath on Israel for the better part of an hour.

What interests me is how Chomsky chose to defend Berrigan; but before getting to that, something more must be said about the speech itself. There is not enough space here to deal as they deserve with all the aspersions and maledictions that Berrigan permitted himself to heap on Israel. It is enough to note that he called Israel "a criminal Jewish community," "the repository, and finally the tomb, of the Jewish soul," "an Orwellian nightmare," "the dream [that] has become a nightmare," and "an Orwellian transplant, taken bodily from Big Brother's bloody heart." For one who had announced his non-expertise in this very subject and had not yet spent a day in Israel, Berrigan spoke with astonishing dogmatism and intemperance. In the course of this interminable tirade, made before a largely Arab audience while the fighting was still going on, Father Berrigan twice, incredibly, found it necessary to say of himself, "I am a Jew," as if even if it were true, it would give him a license to utter calumnies.

On the main issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Chomsky finds nothing to criticize in Berrigan's treatment. When Berrigan accuses the Jews of creating "slaves," Chomsky does not demur. If Berrigan rewrites the history of the establishment of Israel in 1948 so that "the Jews arose like warriors, armed to the teeth," when in reality a vastly out-

Coming

Stanley Weintraub
reviews
Catherine Drinker Bowen's
new biography of
Benjamin Franklin
The Most Dangerous Man in America

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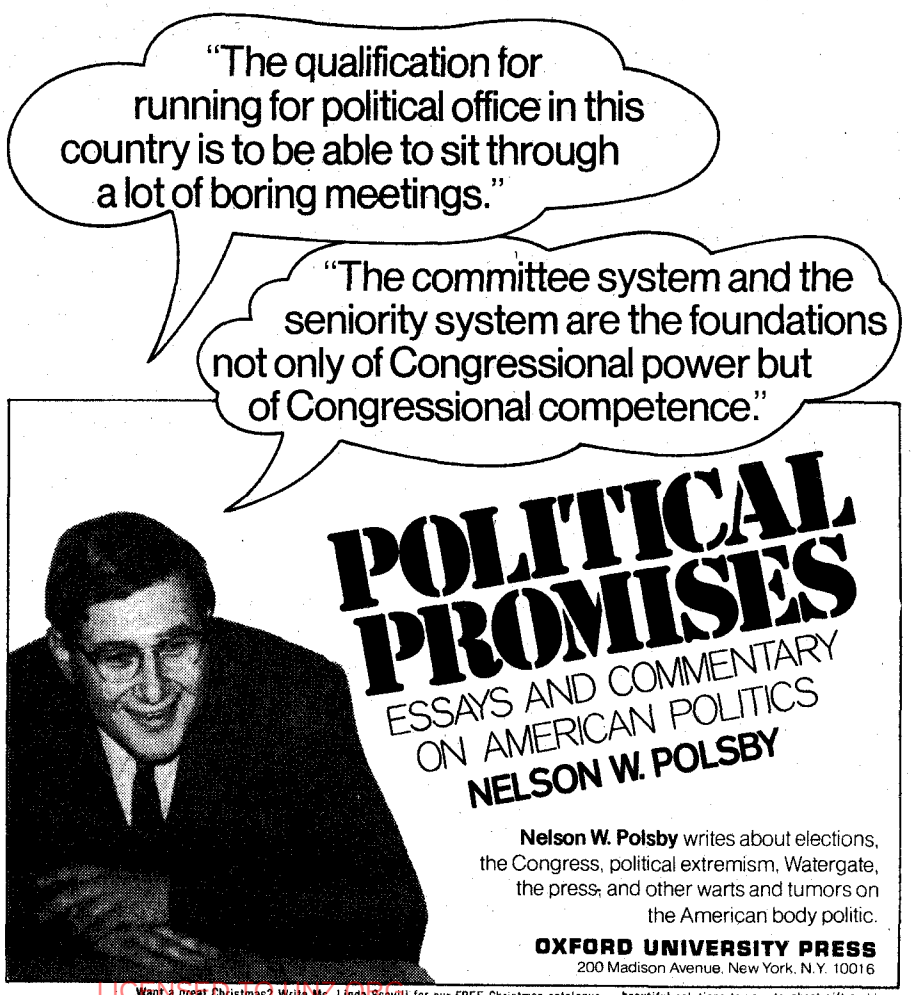
numbered and outgunned Jewish community was forced to fight back the invasion of five Arab armies, Chomsky sees nothing wrong. Somehow in conducting a furious debate with Berrigan's Jewish critics, Chomsky never manages to tell his readers two things. One: Berrigan devoted a few lines of his text to criticizing the Arab states and hundreds of lines to denouncing Israel. Moreover with the single exception of a sentence toward the end of his speech—paired off with a symmetrical thrust at Israel—none of Berrigan's criticisms of the Arab states concern their relations with Israel whereas paragraph after paragraph of his anathema against Israel concern its alleged treatment of the Arabs. Two: in all his references to Berrigan's speech, Chomsky never sees fit to quote any of the lines from it, including the obsessive "nightmare" theme, that I have cited. One wonders whether his readers would consider Berrigan's speech so "reasonably accurate" and even "commonplace," as Chomsky described one highly dubious passage, if he had given them some sense of Berrigan's provocative, inflammatory language.

Chomsky's commentary on Berrigan's speech also provides a characteristic example of Chomsky's wayward way with quotations. First Chomsky cites Berrigan who said that the Egyptian offer of a cease-fire on October 16 included "a declaration of *de facto* respect [by the Arab states] for the existence of Israel, a *de facto* state. . . ." The Egyptian offer included no such declaration. The closest President Sadat came to any such statement was a proposal for a peace conference to "lay down the rules and measures for peace in the area based on respect for the legitimate rights of all peoples in the area," after he had called for "finding the means of restoring and respecting the legitimate rights of the Palestinians." Sadat was also kind enough to tell the Israelis that "we do not call for their annihilation." All this was not very different from previous Egyptian propaganda, always deliberately vague in its references to "legitimate rights," and very far from "a declaration of *de facto* respect for the existence of Israel, a *de facto* state"—whatever that might be.

Chomsky did not bother to check up on Berrigan's version of the Egyptian statement; he presented it to his readers as if it could be taken at face value. But then Chomsky performed an even stranger operation on the statement. Two pages later he repeated it but this time attributed the same words to Berrigan—to show that he was not without goodwill toward Israel—instead of to Sadat. The second time we get the statement in this form: "Berrigan nowhere suggests that an end be made of the State of Israel. Rather, he insists that the Arab states at once declare a *de facto* respect for the existence of Israel, a *de facto* state." And this in a paragraph accusing a Jewish critic of "fabrication!" In fact Berrigan fabricated the first version of this statement by attributing it to the Egyptians and Chomsky fabricated the second version by attributing it to Berrigan.

The rigor of Chomsky's political thinking is best shown by his treatment of the Palestine-Arab problem. At the very outset in his introduction we are told that the United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967 was "interpreted in most of the world" as, among other things, providing for "perhaps a Palestine state in parts of the West Bank and Gaza, subordinated to Jordan and Israel." Resolution 242 gave no hint of any such state and was never interpreted in such a sense anywhere in the world, let alone in the Arab countries. The resolution merely called for "a just settlement of the refugee problem" and aroused the ire of the Palestinian nationalists precisely because it gave them no basis for present or future appeal to or pressure on the UN. Indeed this deliberate absence of any support, explicit or implicit, for "a Palestine state" in 242 was the reason for the effort made by the pro-Arab members of the Security Council to reopen the question in June-July 1973 and to get a resolution substituting the new code term, "the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people" for what had been "a just settlement of the refugee problem." Only a US veto prevented this draft resolution S/10974 from going through on July 26.

After examining some of the proposals made to deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict, Chomsky again resorts to the "modesty *topos*" coupled with another sample of ecumenical latitudinarianism: "I have neither the insight nor the presumption to offer a judgment on the respective merits of the counterposed demands and am frankly not overly impressed by the confident assertions I see on the part of others. Each set of demands is just and, in its own terms, compelling." After which Chomsky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offers quite a few judgments and finds quite a few demands, almost invariably by the Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular, far more just and compelling than others.

Thus, a few pages later, we are told that "some form of socialist binationalism offers the best hope for reconciling the just and compelling demands of the two parties to the local conflict in the former Palestine," however dim the prospects may seem. As if a binational socialist Palestinian state of Arabs and Jews living in peace and harmony were not difficult enough to envisage in 1974, Chomsky makes the idea depend for its realization on something even more grandiose and out of reach—"a revitalized international movement that would stand for the ideals of brotherhood, cooperation, democracy, social and economic development, guided by intrinsic, historically evolving needs. . . ."

It is hard to know whether to take this solution to the problem seriously or even whether Chomsky himself takes it seriously. On the one hand we are told that binational socialism in Palestine is "the best hope," "not hopeless," and "not beyond the bounds of possibility." In Chapter I Chomsky is so hopeful that he cites the alleged failures of Western and Soviet interventions in the Middle East as cause for optimism. In this vein he ruminates: "The Soviet attempt to intervene, for example, in Iraq, was no less of a catastrophe. Perhaps, then, the great powers might be willing to keep hands off, even to permit some form of genuine socialist development in the Middle East outside the framework of competing imperialisms, if it has substantial domestic roots." One rubs one's eyes in wonder. A Soviet "catastrophe" in Iraq? To be sure the Soviets have had their ups and downs in Iraq. They were doing very well in the late 1950s; they were pushed out in the early 1960s; and now they are back stronger than ever. To convert a temporary setback into a "catastrophe," which in any case was mainly paid for at the time by the Iraqi Communists, not the Soviet Union, and to build on such flimsy evidence the hope that the great powers, especially the Soviet Union, might conceivably keep hands off or even permit a genuine socialist development in the Middle East, whatever that might be—such historical make-believe is more a Chomskian than a Soviet catastrophe.

By the time we get to Chapter III, however, Chomsky's line on the Arab-Jewish binational or federative state is far more pessimistic. Now the reader is told that such possibilities are not even worth speculating about "because they seem to me remote." Details are not worth bothering about because they would be, "for the present, purely an academic exercise." Much depends on which page one reads. Chomsky is not only for the binational state; he is also for recognizing "the right of Israelis to national self-determination, with the institutions that express this national right"; he commends *al-Fatah*'s appearance as "a significant step toward peaceful reconciliation," after which he notes that *al-Fatah* will have nothing to do with binationalism; and he wants Israel to recognize the Palestinians as a "national entity." These references to nationalism, binationalism and internationalism are so confused and confusing that in the end one does not know what to do or believe about them.

There was no lack of will or effort on the part of Zionist leaders in the Mandate period to reach an understanding with the Arabs. All attempts to find a common ground came to nought because the conceivable terms of such an understanding did not serve the "historically evolving needs"—Chomsky's phrase—of either the emergent Arab or Israeli nationalisms. The Jews could have had an understanding with the Arabs if they had agreed to be and remain in perpetuity a tolerated minority, and the Arabs could have had the same kind of deal with the Jews. This has been and still is the essence of the matter. Neither side was prepared to put itself at the mercy of the other precisely because they were historically evolving nationalisms that had not yet fully evolved. In one of his many moods on the subject Chomsky says that binationalism became "unrealistic" as a result of the United Nations partition agreement of 1947 but that it may have become realistic again, "perhaps the only hope," today. It is hard to believe that the historically evolving need of Israel is to give up its *raison d'être* as a Jewish state or that the historically evolving need of Palestinian nationalism is to short-circuit itself. Binationalism and brotherly love may be ideal solutions, but they need not have much in common with the "historically evolving needs" of either nations or brothers.

Chomsky's treatment of what he calls "the only other alternative," a Palestinian state in the occupied territories, is equally unsatisfactory. In one place he rejects the idea in favor of a binational state; in another place he berates the former Israeli leaders for also rejecting it as if he wanted them to accept it. In the first part of Chapter III dating from February 1971, he thinks it conceivable that "a Palestinian state of some sort" will be established; in the second part of the same chapter, written in January 1972, he concludes that "an independent Palestinian entity of some sort is illusory." He attributes the idea to Israeli and US inspiration whereas the main pressure for it is coming from Arab and Soviet sources. He mistakenly foists the idea, as we have seen, onto the UN Security Council Resolution 242. He finds it difficult to see how Israel would be weakened or threatened "if it were to recognize unequivocally, the national rights of the Palestinians" or permit "political though not military, support for Palestinian guerrilla organizations in the occupied territories." He asserts that "the catastrophic defeat of June 1967 left a political and military vacuum that was quickly filled by *al-Fatah*, now relatively free from the constraints formerly imposed and solidly based in the Palestinian population."

Unfortunately Chomsky never tells us just what "the national rights of the Palestinians" are or what the latter think they are, which is even more important. Or how it would be possible in the real world to permit the Palestinian guerrilla organizations to get political but not military support in the occupied territories if the politics of the guerrilla organizations is precisely to get military support. Or what evidence there is that *al-Fatah*, which seems to be his favorite guerrilla organization, was "solidly based in the Palestinian population" after June 1967.

This latter assertion is worth examining more closely because it points to a

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basic misuse of the term "Palestinians." Three-quarters of the approximately three million Palestinian Arabs live under Israeli or Jordanian jurisdiction. No one has ever suggested that *al-Fatah* is or was solidly based among the approximately 500,000 Arabs in Israel itself. *Al-Fatah* was certainly not solidly based after June 1967 among the million or so Arabs who live in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. *Al-Fatah*'s political stock in the occupied territories rose sharply after the October 1973 war and especially after the Algiers summit meeting of Arab leaders the following month at which the umbrella Palestine Liberation Organization was for the first time recognized as the sole legitimate representative of all Palestinians. But the impression that the PLO was inevitably going to take over faded as nothing much happened, the cease-fire lines were established, and even Egypt began to have second thoughts. After about three months the *al-Fatah* flurry, always psychological rather than organizational, largely spent itself. Nor does *al-Fatah* have a solid base among the approximately three-quarters of a million Palestinians who live in the East Bank of the Jordan, the population of which is mainly Palestinian. King Hussein could not have smashed the guerrilla bid for power in 1970 if the Palestinians in his armed forces had proven disloyal to him or if the mass of Palestinians had risen against him. In the choice between social interest and national feeling, the former won out, as it may again win out in any real test of strength in the West Bank. The main—not the same as solid—base of the guerrilla organizations is actually in Lebanon and Syria where about a half million live. A remaining 200,000 have done relatively well providing much of the bureaucratic, managerial, technical and educational personnel in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. No one knows how many Palestinians east of the Jordan would want to settle in a West Bank-Gaza Strip state. John Cooley, in a sympathetic book on the Palestinian Arabs, *Green March, Black September*, published last year and cited by Chomsky as one of his prime sources, thought a referendum was necessary to find out whether they really wished to live in such a state of their own. In *The New Republic* of August 31, 1974, David Pryce-Jones, author of a little gem of a book on the Palestinian Arabs, *The Face of Defeat*, estimated that "perhaps as many as 200,000 of them have a genuine right to be allowed back immedi-

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ately to the West Bank or to the Gaza Strip." If so the great majority in any such state would be those there now and not those coming in from the outside.

Chomsky's sweeping statement about *al-Fatah* presupposed that the "Palestinians" and "the Palestinian population" could be lumped together as if they were an undifferentiated mass. The final fate of any West Bank state, for that is what it would be essentially, is most likely to be settled in the West Bank, not outside. One reason why such a state is still problematic is that the West Bankers have been so slow in reaching a point where they think they can settle their own fate. The West Bankers by and large have been waiting to see who is going to come out ahead in the end; they have been balancing between holding on to their advantageous economic ties with Israel and preserving all their other ties with the entire Arab world; they have been uncertain how to escape from Israeli domination without falling back into the former Hashemite rule or inviting a deadly civil war such as that which took place in Jordan in 1970.

It is also a pity that Chomsky did not examine "the national rights of the Palestinians" more concretely and critically. Such phrases trip off the typewriter easily but what they mean is far from self-evident, which is why the Palestinians themselves have had so much trouble with this very slogan. A question Chomsky might have asked himself with profit is why *al-Fatah* and the other guerrilla groups, with one minor exception, have been so reluctant to come out for a West Bank-Gaza Strip state. In 1970 while Chomsky was weighing the merits of such a state against the superior virtues of binationalism, it is instructive to note what the Arabs themselves were saying against both. On March 12, 1970 the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine issued a programmatic statement in which it charged that "Jewish intelligence services" had been the first to come out for a Palestinian state. It was the duty of every Palestinian to fight for the whole of Palestine, including "the part usurped in 1948, upon which the oppressive state of 'Israel' now stands," the statement asserted. On May 6, 1970 the Unified Command of the Palestinian Resistance Movement declared that the "Palestinian struggle is based on the belief that the people in the Palestinian-Jordanian theatre are one people" and denounced "the reactionary and colonialist conspiracies to establish a state of Palestine in part of Palestinian territory." The program defined the aim of the Palestinian revolution as the total elimination of Israel—"to liquidate this entity in all its aspects, political, military, social, trades union and cultural, and to liberate Palestine completely." On August 28, 1970 an emergency session of the Palestinian National Assembly passed a resolution that dealt with the question in some detail: "Historical, economic, social and political factors all assert the unity of the people of the Jordanian-Palestinian theatre. This is why our people reject imperialist and reactionary conspiracies aimed at smashing the unity of the people, their land and their destiny. They also emphatically refuse to accept that the country should be partitioned into petty states, one Palestinian, the other Jordanian, in an attempt to seduce the people of Palestine, to push through settlements involving liquidation and to establish petty states to be used by colonialism to strike at the Palestinian revolutionary movement and to act as a safety valve for Israel."

Until the October 1973 war, this political line remained unchanged. It had its roots in the long history of Palestine, without which one can hardly begin to fathom the depth and difficulty of the problem. One is driven to ask, "What is Palestine?" and "Who are the Palestinians?" The ancient Greek historian, Herodotus, was apparently the first in the fifth century BC to use the term, Palestine, by which he meant the southern part of Syria. This usage lasted well into this century. During the four centuries of Ottoman rule, which came to an end in 1918, Palestine was governed as an integral part of the province of Syria. Palestine as it has been known in this century came into existence only in 1919 in the form of the British Mandate; that Palestine has already been partitioned twice, the first time in 1921-23 and the second time in 1947-48. As late as 1938, in his seminal study of Arab nationalism, George Antonius still regarded Palestine as part of Syria, though he was willing to entertain the thought that Palestine might become "an independent Arab state" with as many Jewish citizens "as the country can hold." Until the beginning of the 1940s Zionist leaders such as Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion never thought of their territorial aim as embracing anything less than the whole of Palestine, which to them excluded Syria but included the present state of Jordan; their acceptance of the UN partition plan of 1947 represented a triumph of pragmatism over principle. On March 8 of this year President Hafez al-Assad of Syria publicly laid claim to Palestine. In the past summer the Arab newspaper in Jerusalem, *al-Quds*, played up a proposal to merge Syria and Jordan into a Greater Syria. In view of the long shadow that history casts over Palestine, one might ponder the Arab proverb: "The Bedouin says—after forty years I have had my revenge. His friends ask—why were you so hasty?"

Chomsky indignantly complains that it has been difficult to face the problem of the Palestinians "honestly and openly." He does not, in my view, do much to help us, but he is right that it

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needs facing, particularly because the so-called Palestinian state has lately become an anti-Israeli shibboleth.

What is now known as Palestinian nationalism is of such recent date that it is still in the process of definition. Until quite recently the idea of Arab nationhood, not Palestinian nationhood, predominated among the Palestinian Arabs. According to Gérard Chaliand, whose militantly pro-guerrilla book, *The Palestinian Resistance*, is recommended by Chomsky, "there was not even the embryo of a Palestinian national organization" until 1956, and "the Palestinian population was hardly aware of the Resistance" until 1967. An American observer of the Palestinian nationalist movement, Paul Jacobs, has written that it "did not emerge with any clarity" until about 1965, and its various groups did not "manage to detach themselves from the domination of the Arab states" until after the June 1967 war. From June 1967 to October 1973 one heard far more about a "Palestinian entity" than about a "Palestinian state." An "entity" could mean something or nothing, a useful ambiguity when no one was sure of anything. The first sign of an official change came in Algiers in November 1973 at an Arab summit meeting that called for "reestablishment of full national rights for the Palestinian people" and recognized the PLO as their sole legitimate representative. Since the territorial extent of these national rights was not spelled out, no one was the wiser. King Hussein, however, could not let the matter rest there. The PLO had always claimed that its writ held good in all of Palestine, understood as embracing Israel and Jordan, and thus threatening him at least as much as anyone else. In June of this year the Palestine National Council met in Cairo and decided in favor of something called a "Palestinian National Authority" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip on the understanding that it should be used "for the sake of completing the liberation of all Palestinian soil," that is, for the sake of getting a base inside Palestine the better to continue the struggle against Israel and Jordan for the whole of Palestine. In July Hussein and President Sadat put their heads together and came forth with a declaration to the effect that the PLO represented the Palestinians, except for those in Jordan. But which Jordan—with or without the occupied territories—it did not say. Though the pronouncement left much to be desired in the way of clarity, it was taken to indicate that Egypt was withdrawing its blank check to the PLO.

No sooner had this happened than the Egyptians began to blow hot and cold. The issue became so divisive that another Arab summit meeting in Rabat was called for the last week in October to deal with the Palestinian problem. Meanwhile the Egyptian and Syrian foreign ministers, in conjunction with the dominant faction in the PLO, issued a communiqué in Cairo on September 21 that upheld the PLO as "the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine," without mentioning Jordan at all. The official Egyptian interpretation of this statement handed the West Bank to the PLO and the East Bank to Hussein; it amounted to the dismemberment of one Arab country by another. Hussein, whose chief weapon is his threat to drop out of the contest, promptly refused to meet with the Egyptian, Syrian and PLO representatives in Cairo. In effect, Egypt, the main sponsor of this new development, has reclaimed its position of Arab primacy with the prerogative of determining who is going to rule what and where in Palestine. Those who think that Sadat gave up this role for good may be in for unpleasant surprises; in any case his policy of appearing to bite off no more than he can chew at any given time need not be confused with moderation and forbearance. Hussein was not the only one put out by the Egyptian-Syrian adjudication of September 21. It also provoked a split in the PLO by the more intransigent elements, led by George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which does not wish to be subservient to the slippery, self-serving Egyptian diplomacy and which seeks to outbid Yasir Arafat's *al-Fatah* by making even more extreme immediate demands on Israel and Jordan. The difference is essentially between those who are willing to gamble on getting all of Israel and Jordan on the installment plan and those who are holding out for everything at once, including a pan-Arab social revolution on "Marxist-Leninist" lines.

In all this intricate maneuvering, the people of the West Bank have been studiously ignored. Those who cry out the most for self-determination of Palestine never seem to care about self-determination of the Palestinians. Sadat recently ruled out a referendum to determine how the majority of West Bank-

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ers might want to be represented. One of the most serious and costly faults of the previous Israeli government was its persistent failure to encourage political organization inside the West Bank, thus leaving it a political vacuum that gave the best organized underground group, most recently the Communists, a gratuitous advantage. No policy is without risk for Israel but real self-determination for the people living in the West Bank may well be the safest and most fruitful course to pursue in the present circumstances. The Israeli press has most recently reported the stirrings of independent political activity on the part of West Bank leaders who are tired of waiting for the conflict between Jordan and the PLO to be settled and who are moving toward a position of some sort of autonomy pending a general Israel-Arab political settlement. High-ranking Israeli officials and West Bank notables are said to be engaged in exploratory discussions described as "feelers." If so, the move has been long overdue on both sides.

Thus the proposed new PLO-ruled Palestinian state is a far more explosive proposition than it has been made to appear. The PLO position is being presented as if it merely implies a third little state in Palestine; to the PLO it really implies the piecemeal liquidation of two existing states, both members of the United Nations—Israel and Jordan. The inter-Arab struggle for power is never far away from the Arab-Israeli struggle for power. The Arab dilemma is often covered up by blaming Israel, as Chomsky does, for standing in the way of a "Palestinian state." In fact the dilemma is mutual. A West Bank-Gaza Strip state was never before contemplated by either side; it has no "natural" or historic roots; it goes against the grain of both sides to keep on partitioning this ancient land. The third partition would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the policy of "solving" national problems by making smaller and smaller nations. In the most favorable circumstances, it would be hard to imagine a less auspicious political and economic basis for a new state. It would start out with about a million people, and might hope to reach 1.5 million in time, compared to 3.4 million in Israel and about 1.5 million in what might be left of Jordan. It would occupy an area of 2410 square miles (140 of them in the Gaza Strip), compared to 7993 square miles for Israel and 35,090 square miles for Jordan. Thus it would be wedged in between Israel and Jordan which, small as they are, would tower over it. Its economic resources would be minimal. If the present open-ended economic relations with Israel were severed or severely reduced, the standard of living in the West Bank, which had risen fourfold in the past six years, would drop ruinously. It would have to depend on Israel for a corridor between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and an outlet to the sea. It would not be *the* Palestinian state; it would be *a* Palestinian state; for Jordan would still be a state with a majority of Palestinians ruled by a non-Palestinian minority, and Israel would presumably still occupy a portion of traditional Palestine. If the emigré Palestinian leaders were satisfied with "a little piece of turf of their own" (as I have heard American officials express it) and accept an inferior status vis-à-vis Israel and Jordan, they would betray all that they have professed to believe in and have fought for. A West Bank-Gaza Strip state would make Bangladesh look like a masterpiece of nation-building and self-sufficiency.

But in a world that has given us Bangladesh, Northern Ireland, Cyprus and other political monstrosities, we may yet get a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It will be another sign that the contending forces are such that the wit of man can think of nothing better, not that it is any better. Slogans have become a substitute for thought about the Palestine problem in all its historical, economic and political concreteness. Chomsky chides Israel for denying the existence of the Palestinians as a "national entity" and calls on Israel to overcome its "curious" refusal to consider the "Palestinian solution." In the United Nations last month, the French foreign minister spoke of the Palestinians' "legitimate aspirations" and the German foreign minister of their "legitimate rights." None of them made the slightest effort to spell out practically and realistically what this "entity," "solution" and "legitimate" rights and aspirations are or how they impinge on other people's entities, solutions, and legitimate rights and aspirations. Whatever Palestine and those who inhabit it may need, it is not moralistic muddleheadedness or international blackmail-by-slogan.

Theodore Draper

THEODORE DRAPER *is the author of* Israel and World Politics, Abuse of Power (Viking) *and other books.*

Final Poems

The Great Mother and Other Poems by Michele Murray

(Sheed & Ward; $5.95)

The death of Michele Murray this year, at the age of 40, occasioned such expressions of respect, affection and admiration for the woman, and her work, that it is not surprising to find an extraordinary quality in the book of poems whose publication she did not live to see.

To understand what she has done in these poems, is to forget the generalizations of the critic. What Michele Murray does is so basic to her very existence, so completely without the processing of self-consciousness, that one steps clear out of the familiar hazards and shibboleths, and meets the poetry head-on, in the openness and directness with which it is written.

Their success—and as a whole they are wonderfully successful—comes from the immediacy of the reader's contact with the mind of a poet too concerned with the actual life-pulse of her poems to be cautious or knowing, and never in danger of being, in the narrow and shabby sense, "confessional"; speaking clearly, and with a magical honesty, of things which matter.

Almost all the poems are a response to a basic need. She says

a few clear names
the heart
water
love

This work has long roots, roots that go down to the deep, as well as the immediate, past; to a European Jewish heritage, to the jagged shards of old family relationships, benign or exacerbating. The power of those pasts appears in images of enclosure, as in "Child In A Corner":

The sun goes down suddenly
stuffed into the cabinet of night.
The drawer slams shut.
And here I am again
collapsed in on myself like a drinking cup
lugged to the seashore for fountain safety.

Or in "Once Again The Past":

. . . across the barrier beach

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the tide's in, the island cut off, waters
lap round my ankle, my knees,
I'm drowning in the present, a wall of
waves behind,
deeper waters ahead.

She explores the enclosure, digging below it to free herself, carrying its knowledge, its implications, with her into subsequent relationships—of lover, of child. "O sweet archeologist heart . . ." she says, remembering her grandmother

. . . ripe with randy talk of her sex
on Thursday afternoons in the declining light
with pinochle and seltzer to salt her wit . . .

her cousin, "empty-handed, open-handed" who came to

. . . our world
with a fibre suitcase
a string bag of wooden blocks
his accent
a carved owl from Nuremberg . . .

her father,

From the old gray streets smelling of salt water
harbor oil and dirt I ran for thirty years . . .
In this bay, your last summer, you tried to teach me
in this water where still I cannot swim.

There is an intense struggle to re-create these people by understanding them and her relationship to them, and through this, herself and her life. The cumulative effect is so powerful and moving that the poetry shares its force. One never stops to question whether it should be said differently, because she compels one to realize that this is exactly how it must be said. Her journey through her antecedents, her childhood, her religious conversion to Catholicism (about which she writes nothing that is not implicit in the texture of the late poems themselves), to her final illness so early in her generous life, is a long long one. And the reader who has reached the last few poems, written close to the date of her death, has come to poetry which will stand up to time. Through intuition and emotional maturity, she penetrated far into the desolate regions of loneliness, and the ambiance of the broken and outcast:

. . . the song of transformations,
and the harsh owl open to the moon

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the song in its throat
offers a jagged piece of night in talons
if you can reach out your hand to it.
And the slashed mouse dances.

And she has gone beyond that, into an acceptance that is the preparation for the stark final poems: no attempt to ameliorate, to soften by conjecture or promise; an acceptance of the dignity of fact. Two of her last poems, "My Sentence Has Introduced Me," and "Not Like An Open Wound," have power in the sense of those truly powerful poems which, visiting us once, stay.

Josephine Jacobsen

JOSEPHINE JACOBSEN'S *latest book of poetry is* The Shade-Seller *(Doubleday).*

Campaign Life

Uphill
by Eleanor McGovern with Mary Finch Hoyt

(Houghton Mifflin; $7.95)

Co-authored books, like "as told to" books, often leave the reader puzzling about who really wrote the work. Not in this case. Despite the necessarily neutral style, the professionalism, and pace attributable undoubtedly to magazine writer and former press secretary Mary Hoyt, this is very much Eleanor McGovern's book. She emerges as a woman with intensely personal reactions, as highly introspective, and almost fiercely family-centered, although no candidate's wife since Martha Taft has been more effective on the public platform.

It is this self-revelation that is most interesting about the book, although it also adds to the mounting literature about the political wife, and gives us some inside glimpses into the campaign of 1972.

Recent comment on this book has tended to center on Eleanor McGovern's account of the Eagleton affair, which she is quick to stress is only her own view. She clears up the reason for the seemingly sketchy investigation of a prospective vice-presidential candidate:

A Senator does not conduct an FBI check on a colleague. It would be an insult. Every politician knows what his credits and debits are, and there is a tacit understanding that the facts go on the table. And one does not go out and look for trouble when a respected member of the Senate has been praised highly by such men as the Senators Gaylord Nelson, Walter Mondale, and Ted Kennedy, who recommended Eagleton to George as an ideal choice—they had had no inkling about his recurring emotional disturbances.

She places this and other political observations in the context of her own feeling and the effect on her family:

In spite of the current debate about the obsolescence of the American family and those dramatic observations that the nuclear family has become the cradle of evil and that test-tube babies will replace childbirth, I think that the institution called family is the center of strength in society . . . My own family has been to me like a small community within which I have been able to embrace from day to day the whole human experience—sometimes stifling, ofttimes broadening; many times providing love, security, concern; other times provoking rivalry, guilt, anger.

She permits herself to daydream of an ideal home built like a wheel, with living quarters for her husband and herself, and for each of her children's families at the end of each spoke, a common activity space at the hub.

Eleanor McGovern has chosen as her special interest the field of early childhood education, and has educated herself through extensive reading and volunteer work. Her "unusual interest," she feels, "stemmed from my own past, all that I had had and all that I had missed as a little girl." Her youth was spent in rural America where it was normal to live in a house without running water, electricity or central heating, where "travelling thirty miles was high adventure," an ice cream cone was a luxury; where the forbidden delights of dips in the stock tank were the only relief from "the scorching winds" of South Dakota's summers. In sub-zero winters an iron was heated on the stove and wrapped in newspapers to warm the bed in the cold room shared by Eleanor and her twin sister, Ila.

They attended a one-room country schoolhouse, then did housework for their board and room in order to attend high school in the little town of Woonsocket—"scrubbing, washing, baby sitting." Of her girlhood she writes:

. . . my teen-age years were happy and bursting with promise . . . No one I knew was searching, at least overtly, for the "identity" Erik Erikson says is the merging of the inner person that we believe ourselves to be with the outer person perceived by the rest of the world. What was was. *I was Eleanor Stegeberg, shy, worthy, I thought, and mentally pinching myself because I was lucky enough to be able to go beyond the eighth grade to high school.*

The sisters managed a year of college at Dakota Wesleyan.

She first met George McGovern when he was her opponent in a high school debate contest (reminiscent of the meeting of another Midwestern political pair—Birch and Marvella Bayh), observed him admiringly from afar and was delighted when he asked for a date during her college freshman year. They were married when he came home from basic training for World War II's army air corps. From then on her life was ancillary to his as wife to a flying officer, student for the ministry, politician—a fact she has never regretted.

It was a long way, a way made tricky by rapid change, to the exultant moment in Miami Beach when her husband was nominated for President. Tradition demanded that he await news of the nomination in his hotel suite, but she was at the convention hall:

I wanted to stay with our people. I couldn't get enough of the good will that radiated toward me from McGovern delegates on the floor below the box. And it was three o'clock before I crept into the bedroom in the suite where George had fallen into a dead sleep. . . ."

Along the way to that moment she had coped with incipient depression and mounting pressures by bouts of solitary reading, and by searching her past and present emotions and relationships for solutions. Pregnant with her third child she was suddenly overcome by the bereavement she had suffered long before when her mother died.

. . . Suddenly one day I was miserable. And the next and the next . . . What bothered me most was that I was a

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twenty-five year old woman, much too old, I rationalized, for a sudden inexplicable longing for my mother that overshadowed everything else, I wanted to go back to the farm, to find her there, to show off my girls, to boast about their first teeth. I wanted to be mothered myself, to reverse my role . . . It became clear that the death of my mother was a dominant force in my life and was making me, quite literally ill.

That grief, unresolved at the time of the death, as well as the stress experienced when she was first parted from her twin, she came to understand as hidden psychic injuries:

We [Eleanor and Ila] did not necessarily miss the other's physical presence; yet for a brief period of time our everyday lives were invaded by unsettling moods and feelings: once I was unable to utter a word to two very good friends; at other times I was nearly ill from self-consciousness; and both of us suffered from a numbing, dead-end inadequacy we had never felt before.

This understanding was useful to her later in coming to terms with the troubles of her children, especially her daughter Terry, whose brief involvement in the drug culture drew merciless national attention:

I wish I had been more insightful in those depressing months that set off Teresa's birth like parentheses. Perhaps then I might have suspected that even though I loved and cared for my pretty, newborn baby, she was somehow being touched by my anxieties during that early symbiotic period in our relationship.

All this has strengthened her determination to use her prominence and position to further the cause of early childhood education. Still very much the campaigner and the political wife, Eleanor McGovern has found a very good way of coming to terms with her private and public experience, and thus making a contribution of them both.

Abigail McCarthy

ABIGAIL MCCARTHY, *who has written her own autobiography,* Private Faces, Public Places *(Doubleday), is a free-lance writer and critic.*

New Fiction

The House of the Solitary Maggot by James Purdy

(Doubleday; $7.95)

James Purdy begins his novel with the words "Do Not Disturb," which lie over Eneas Harmond's house, ironic words because the work itself traces the subtle, odd disturbances of a small community and, in doing so, violently disturbs us.

The novel is set in Prince's Crossing, "a village," which Harmond, the narrator, claims "no longer exists, expunged by a merciless state, county, and township authority." This village, a ghostland, is filled with people unable to accept the facts of daily life, obsessed by bright visions of glory, fame and love. They are sleepwalkers.

Beginning with Harmond, the "caretaker," the novel soon shifts to the "stars"—to Lady Bythewaite and her three illegitimate sons—Clarence, Owen and Aiken, and from the present (Lady Bythewaite tells her story into a tape recorder) into the distant past of her relationships with her sons. There is thus a concentrated, "incestuous" feeling. Not only are the stories of Harmond and Lady Bythewaite spliced together, but also the voices of past and present are married. These choral arrangements suggest mysterious blood ties.

If we attempt to fix the cause for the various disasters that destroy the sons, we are led to believe (at first) that Lady Bythewaite is at fault. She loves her children as reflections of herself, as "mirrors" that establish her greatness. But she is not entirely to blame. She may warp their maturation but she secretly loves them. The irony is that her narcissism and maternal love, like the voices, are *mixed.* Purdy implies that family life—even if it is not "legal"—is a "crossing," and this very fact defies rationalistic commentary.

Although the mother is strong-willed and therefore dangerous, she overreacts to the magnate, Mr. Skegg. He is the father; he does not, however, legally acknowledge all his sons. He lives in a dream world of financial power, of tidy ledgers. Solitary, he maintains his rigid independence. But his freedom from commitment—which is, alas, a commitment!—helps to precipitate insanity, ruin and murder. Mr. Skegg is a "maggot" (as the villagers mispronounce "magnate") because he feeds upon others, but his cannibalism is eventually directed toward himself.

Purdy writes an "old-fashioned" novel. His characters are described in apparently straightforward ways; his events are out of Dickens and Emily Brontë. There are several reasons for this basic technique. Purdy believes that the family has not really changed very much in this century—parents and children fight (and love) each other as they always did. Money and sex are still prime movers, owners of the decaying house. He wants to capture the history of rural

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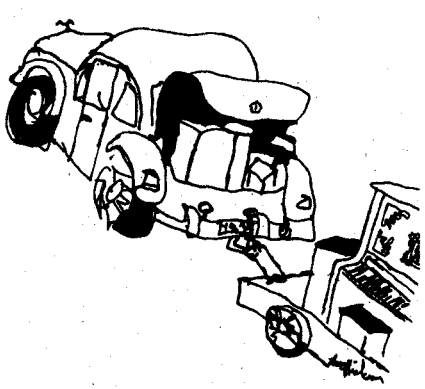

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America, of village life before technology hid the fundamentals of family life.

Purdy writes a conventional novel but, too shrewd to simply imitate past masters, gives us distinctive, nightmarish patterns, as if, echoing his treatment of the characters, he accepts *and* rebels against "traditional" images.

One of the sons, Clarence Skegg, goes to the big city and becomes a famous silent screen star, Maynard Ewing. He is welcomed back to his town; his film is shown. Lady Bythewaite sees the film:

> *Then the jumping motes of hastening figures began to afflict her retina. Faces, enormous, tall as buildings, atrocious mouths, teeth of an evenness and whiteness such as one never sees in nature, painted eyelids with eyelashes like those of fluttering insects, great dead even mounds of impeccably groomed hair, and then 'titles' of idiotic brevity or inanity explaining what the grinning teeth and mouths had uttered.*

These details are wonderfully chosen to suggest the "unreality" of film—the elongations, the "painting" of things, the hypnotic distortions. We realize that the film silently reflects the entire novel which, in its stylized manner, also heightens motives, gestures, even names, until they become theatrical.

Theatrical: the word helps to explain the disasters that happen to everyone in the book. Lady Bythewaite, Skegg, the three sons—*all are acting roles in some "melodramatic" plot.* Even when they speak, they are repeating "lines" to an imaginary audience. But they are not writing their *own* material—when Lady Bythewaite talks to the tape recorder in the present, she also acts a part—and they cannot make up another plot. *They are caught, like the figures on the screen.*

During the matinee performance of Maynard Ewing's film, his mother rises from her chair and moves toward the "giant image of the boy she had reared . . . her hands tore at the screen with a kind of rage as giant and towering as the enormous figure. . . ." Her "mad" actions merely parallel those of the other characters. There are no accurate observations by parents and children, only blind wanderings. (It is fitting, of course, that one of the sons *is* blind and that solitary visions dominate the novel.)

The blind son, Owen, is shot at one point by Aiken. The murderer (who really loves his victim) picks up "the eyes which had been Owen's in their bleeding rings of flesh and cartilage" and closes his lips on them. The scene is not gratuitous. It tells us, as does the entire mythic and disturbing novel, that motives are mixed, that love is bloody, and that maggots dwell in family constructions.

Irving Malin

IRVING MALIN *teaches at CCNY. He is editor of the forthcoming* The Achievement of Carson McCullers *and co-editor of the forthcoming* The Achievement of William Styron.

Fine Print

More Water Under the Gate
or *Grant and Nixon*

Doris Grumbach

Ninety years ago the newly established publishing house of Charles L. Webster & Co., owned by Mark Twain, decided to further enrich itself by publishing the memoirs of ex-President Ulysses S. Grant. Twain gave Grant an advance of $200,000—at that time the highest sum ever paid a prospective author—and Grant's widow ultimately earned over $400,000 from the book. Twain's company sold 300,000 sets of the two-volume book, cleared an enormous profit, $200,000. Grant, then mortally ill with throat cancer, had signed with Twain for his memoirs at the end of February 1885. Now agreed to be among the most readable and literate volumes in American military and political history, they were finished in five months. Two weeks later he was dead.

Warner Paperback Library is counting on the same great success for **Richard Nixon's Memoirs.** A few weeks ago William Sarnoff, chairman of the board of Warner Publishing Company, announced that "complete rights" had been acquired by Warner. If it seems odd that a paperback house, and a relatively new one at that—Warner is about three years old, only last year began to appear with numbers of best-sellers on its list—should have picked off this plum, it is not, really, when you consider the conspicuous lack of genuine interest in the "item" by established hard-cover houses.

And consider too the unusually enterprising nature of Warner Paperback Library. Part of a confusing conglomerate called Warner Communications, in which Warner Modular Publications plays a part and the Warner Brothers movie company is a relative, and there are also subsidiary record and TV interests, last year it published reprints of best-sellers *Sybil, Upstairs at the White House* and *The Camerons.* In January it will bring out the paperback of *All the President's Men,* and later in the year the new Alison Tate novel Elia Kazan's *The Understudy,* Dan Jenkins' new book, and Louis Auchincloss' *The Partners.*

The terms of the agreement between Nixon and Warner are unknown. Sarnoff announced: "We have an absolute signed contract," signed in California, and even added that Nixon's handwriting looked good to him, because it is "in black ink." On the other hand the noted literary agent, Scott Meredith, has been quoted (in *The New York Times)* as saying: "It is my understanding that there is no contract between Warner Paperback Library and Nixon but merely a letter of intent which states in effect that they will take the book if it turns out to be a certain kind of book."

What kind? It will deal with three specified areas: Nixon's quest for peace; "his reelection as President by the greatest majority in history through the Watergate trauma leading to his ultimate resignation."

Like Grant's, Nixon's *Memoirs* will be, probably, in two volumes. Has an advance been paid? Warner will not say. *The Washington Post* quotes a New York lawyer-agent as saying it was $100,000. If that happens to be true, chalk one up for Grant. The full purchase price is also undisclosed. Rumor has it that the price was in excess of two million dollars, a rumor perhaps based on the statement of Nixon's agent, California-based Irving Paul Lazar, who said in New York, "I can get two million dollars for it."

Again, rumor in the publishing industry, according to Joyce Illig ("Book World" of *The Washington Post* again) the price is three million dollars.

The dates for completion and publication are equally vague. Warner's release says nothing. Sarnoff says "when his

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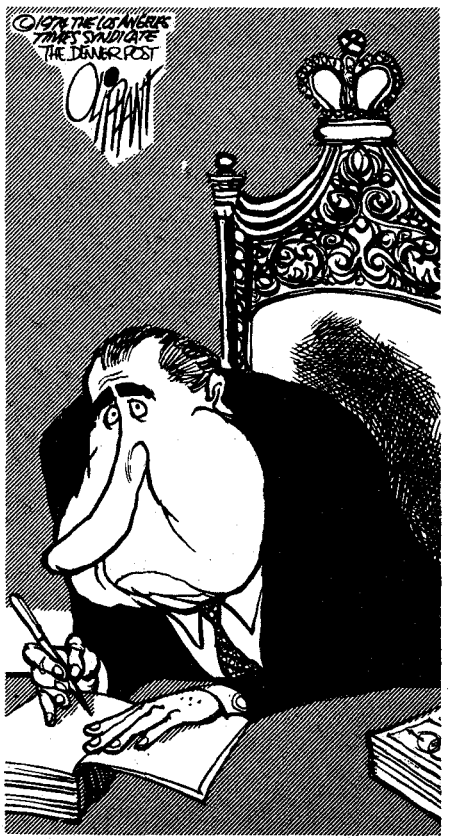
health and schedule allow" Nixon will begin; he hopes to have "a substantial part of the ms. within 18 months." Whatever the price, or the advance, or the publishing schedule and date, Sarnoff makes clear he has acquired the to-be-written book because "the guy wants to tell his story, and I think he's going to be very candid about it . . . we think we can make a lot of money with it . . . it's going to be one hell of a story."



Last week there was an addendum to the saga. Agent Lazar at the behest of William Sarnoff was in New York trying to sell the *hardcover* (and allied) rights for a reported three-quarters of a million dollars. Warner's enterprising officers are not inexperienced in what appears to be backward publishing. Recently published *The Jones Men* is a case in point. Young (34) president Howard Kaminsky, who came to WPL from Random House, read a piece in *Newsweek* about the heroin war in Detroit, got the author to make it into a book, got Regnery to publish it (initial printing 40,000) as a hard-book, sold prepublication movie rights to Paul Monash, and will then of course bring out the paperback. Kaminsky helped to promote the hardcover edition by sharing the $60,000 advertising and promotion campaign with Regnery.

With that kind of foresight and hustle there is no telling where or how far the Richard Nixon *Memoirs* may go. Monash, who made *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, with its typical, American-dream couple-of-pals heroes, will no doubt enjoy expanding the formula a bit to *three* comrades—Nixon, Ehrlichman, Haldeman—arm in arm during engaging break-ins and adventuresome campaign frolics, roaming the halls of the White House in comradely union. The serial rights will go to *Playboy* and *Esquire* and *Rolling Stone*, the emblazoned t-shirts. . . . There is no end to the possibilities . . . and the profits.

It seems too bad to review a book of confessions and memories as good as Ned Rorem's **The Final Diary** (Holt, Rinehart & Winston; $10) in a short space. But because it is a diary, and therefore probably not intended to be read through and then commented on *in totum*, let me say briefly that this *Diary* is as engaging to read as his *Paris Diary* and *The New York Diary* were, but it has a new and somehow moving tone. He writes here of the critics of his earlier diaries who mistakenly took at face value "the narcissism which evidently failed as irony." In these pages I came upon a great deal of this seemingly self-obsessed material that upon closer reading turns out to be just that, an ironic and ultimately *pure*, honest self-assessment, all right, call it narcissism if he prefers.

Rorem's openness about his life, his own art, his view of the art of others (sometimes very full of idiocentricity and carping, but then what readable criticism is not?), his agonizing about the creative process—all of it makes for a remarkable set of entries into a continuing record. He says now it is ended: "The period of exploration, even of experience, is over." What there is may very well turn out to be an enduring 20th-century documentary.

RB on another fiction: Joanna M. Glass, author of **Reflections on a Mountain Summer** (Knopf; $6.95) is meticulous, affable, repetitive and pleasantly intended. Only the subject matter goes wrong. Its contents yield little more than wisps of interest or authenticity. It concerns the recollections of a wealthy, idle, middle-aged man of a poignant summer encounter when he was 14. Jay Rutherford became an inadequate husband and father, a nonproductive consumer; his fixation is to recall this one time in his life when his beloved mother and he underwent a vital experience that almost changed their existences. But his cherished memories of that brief interlude do not persuade anyone of its real importance.

On a ranch in the Canadian Rockies away from their lavish Grosse Pointe residence, the first and only summer she spends there, Jay's mother Laura meets earthy, virile Winger Burns, foreman of a forest work gang. Shades of Lawrence! The starved, lonely socialite and her son find joy in their relationship with Burns who becomes the lover of one and the personification of ideal manhood for the other. Each detail is tediously relived by the boy, now man: clothes, food, excursions, neighbors, chores, arrivals, departures, forest, kitchen, general store, night colors, strawberry dawns, lake dreams. They all add up to little significance to the reader. As Jay's daughter says about her father to her Bulgarian lover: "Washed up out of the moonstream years ago when his mother ran amok. Brooding about it ever since. Maddening . . . ." Well, not really; just trivial.

Kauffmann, *from page 20*

And was that smile ever meaningful.

The intellectuals' fever for gambling is traditional: Dostoevsky and Thackeray are only two examples. In New York there are several well known continuing poker games, at pretty high stakes, of writers and editors. Toback's script may have been prompted by the latter phenomenon, but it does less to signify how an intellectual "sinks" into that compulsion than how an intellectual "sinks" into film-script writing just to show the boobs how it can be done classily. Simple: just make your protagonist an English teacher, have him quote two lines of William Carlos Williams and one of e. e. cummings, have him lean heavily—with juvenile despair—on the malaise of modern society.

The result is parodic of both intellect and film. More parodies: the party at Caan's rich grandfather's house seems to ape the wedding party in *The Godfather*. The scene where Morris Carnovsky, the grandpa, listens to Caruso singing *Una furtiva lagrima* seems to ape the scene in which Carnovsky, as grandpa, listened to Caruso's *O Paradiso* in *Awake and Sing* 40 years ago. The use of Lauren Hutton as Caan's girlfriend raises to the ultimate silliness the idea that any big fashion model can be an actress. And

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Cann himself is like the first laboratory-made film star, the outside fabricated acceptably but the insides omitted.

Only Paul Sorvino, as a bookie, gives a touch of authenticity to the affair. Sorvino, who is evidently going to make a life's work of playing likable slobs, also has the one valid line. He tells Caan that obsessed gamblers really want to lose. Which Caan already knew. As did we.

Mahler's First Symphony is repeatedly quoted on the sound-track to make ultra sure we realize we're in the company of quality folks. The Bach B Minor Mass wouldn't have been any less, or more, appropriate.

All this huffing and puffing, I would guess, comes from Reisz's eagerness to impress, when he gets his rare chance to work, instead of working easily in a steady career. Too bad.

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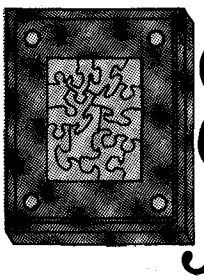

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When I announced a ceiling of $100 on contributions to my campaign, cynics said it wouldn't work.

The primary which ended with my nomination for the U.S. Senate proved the cynics wrong. More than 11,500 people (a record in our state) contributed over $230,000. The New York Times called our upset victory ". . . the most notable achievement in this Watergate-shadowed primary . . ." and added: "The voter response to Mr. Clark's principled decision not to accept campaign contributions in excess of $100 and to his frank, if sometimes controversial, discussion of issues challenges the conventional wisdom of traditional politicians in both parties."

Now I pledge anew that I will not accept any contribution from any person or organization in excess of $100 between the primary and the general election. I do so because I believe deeply in the need to liberate American politics and government from big money and special interests.

Only in that way can I truly represent you in the United States Senate. It is no trick to represent the oil industry, the real estate lobby, the banks; but I want to represent you. I can give you equal representation, but only with your help. Only if you are willing to pay for this campaign.

Those of you who have followed my career know that the $100 limit is consistent with my long-standing commitment to equality—equal representation, equal justice, an equal chance to affect our common destiny. Sound radical? Then so is the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution, which tell us that all men are created equal and command that they be treated equally.

We saw what can happen when the principle of equality is violated. President Ford's grant of a full pardon to Richard Nixon for any and all crimes he may have committed while President is a flagrant violation of the Spirit of the Constitution.

It is in the extreme case that one must try hardest to be absolutely equal. I have always believed that justice must be tempered with mercy but justice and mercy must be equally administered to all. The pardon of Richard M. Nixon was yet another example of the powerful getting favored treatment.

The rich and the powerful will get favored treatment only so long as you and I don't do anything about it. My campaign is an attempt to do something about it—to challenge the old politics, to say no to privilege.

The Democrats of New York have now chosen me to run against a consummate practitioner of the old politics—Senator Jacob Javits. He calls President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon a matter "between the President and his conscience." I call it *wrong*. I call it a violation of the basic principle of our government, which is equal justice under law. We can't have one standard of justice for the rich and powerful and another for the weak and the poor.

When I urged Senator Javits to join me in my self-imposed $100 limit, he observed "What's good for Mr. Clark is not necessarily what's good for me." The point of course is not what's good for Mr. Clark or what's good for Senator Javits but what's good for the people.

If we are to have integrity in American politics and American government we must turn our backs on the old politics and give democracy a chance. There is only one way you can have an equal voice in your democracy—if you care enough to work and contribute . That is the only way my campaign can succeed and it is the only way any democratic campaign should succeed. Senator Javits has already raised more than one-half million dollars, much of it is from big business.

The same "experts" who assured us we couldn't win the primary, now say we cannot win the election.

They say it can't be done. I say we are doing it. But we can only do it if you give us your help now. I seek an average contribution of $10. If you will give now, $1, $5, $10, $25—up to $100, you and I—by adhering to the principle of equality—can begin to free government from the control of wealth and special interests. If there was ever a time for People Money to challenge Big Money the time is now. There are only a few weeks 'til election day. Will you lend a hand?

Ramsey Clark

Please send money. But not too much.

NR

Dear Ramsey,
I enclose my contribution (limit $100 per voter) of
☐ $5 ☐ $10 ☐ $25 ☐ $50 ☐ $100 ☐ Other . . .
made payable to: RAMSEY CLARK FOR U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE, Post Office Box 5111, Grand Central Station, New York, New York 10017.
To comply with the 1972 Federal Financial Disclosure Act, list me as follows:

NAME _____ OCCUPATION _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY AND STATE _____ ZIP _____

I would like to volunteer my services to the campaign

Ramsey Clark for U.S. Senate Committee: Mark Kaplan, Treasurer. A copy of our report filed with the appropriate officer is (or will be) available for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

This advertisement was paid for by voluntary contributions of no more than $100.00 each.
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OCT 25 1974

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